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THE BOLLANDISTS

HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE

A. M. Friend
Princeton
N. J.
Jan 31, 1922

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THE WORK OF THE BOLLANDISTS

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THE WORK OF THE BOLLANDISTS

THROUGH THREE CENTURIES

1615-1915

BY

HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE, S. J.

From the Original French

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
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TO

PROFESSOR J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

EDITOR OF

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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INTRODUCTION

Several years ago, the distinguished librarian of the Accademia dei Lincei at Rome, pronouncing a eulogy in warmest terms upon the *Acta Sanctorum,* recalled the fact that the Bollandists would have occasion in the year 1915 to celebrate the tercentenary of the publication of the *Vitae Patrum* of Rosweyde, a work which marks the inception of this great enterprise.[1]

Now, to tell the plain truth, the Bollandists were in that year much more concerned with the progress of their labors than they were to commemorate any anniversary. However, inasmuch as this subject had been brought to their attention from the outside, they were naturally struck by the fact that the second centenary of Papebroch's death, which occurred in 1714, coincided almost year for year with the tercentenary

[1] G. Gabrieli, *San Brizio e san Niceta,* (Grottaferrata, 1912, pp. 3-4). In 1893, a librarian of the University of Tübingen, had already celebrated, but in his own peculiar way, the 250th anniversary of the publication of the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum.* Cf. K. Geiger, *Aus der Welt der Acta Sanctorum* in *Deutsch-Evangelische Blätter,* vol. XVIII, 1893, pp. 573-96. Cf. also, *Analecta Bollandiana,* vol. XIII, 1894, pp. 288-9.

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of the *Vitae Patrum*, the herald of the dawn of the Bollandist undertaking. The early months of 1915 seemed therefore a propitious season at which to unite in a common tribute of gratitude the memory of the precursor of the *Acta Sanctorum* and, no less so, of the most illustrious representative of critical hagiography, John Bollandus. But the mere mention of the year 1915 is enough to explain why the project of a commemoration had to be abandoned.

Even though the precise moment has passed when it would have been an appropriate date to pay especial homage to these noble men, it is not by any means too late to give a survey of the work of the Bollandists which will always remain inseparable from the names of Rosweyde and of Papebroch. This has now been done in deference to many requests in the past from friends of the Bollandists the world over.

The purpose of the present volume will be to tell how the work originated and to whom it owes the form and development to which it has reached today. Inquiry will also be made both as to the spirit in which it was conceived as well as to the influences that have moulded it, through the evolution of its principles and the vicissitudes of external circumstance. Finally, the book will aim to show to what point the work has progressed at the present day and also how one may

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best utilize the resources which it has brought to light.[2]

The Bollandists need never complain that their efforts have been unrecognized or have failed to receive the praise they merit. It would be no exaggeration to say that what has been achieved is an impressive heritage for those who must continue the work. It is true that among its admirers are many who are not unwillingly awed by the imposing number and size of the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* and who have a kind of superstitious respect for the Bollandists: "*Sacrés ils sont,*—there is no need to complete the quotation. Scholars desire the approval only of their equals and their masters, and from both these groups the hagiographers have met with generous treatment. We have no intention here of calling to mind these voices of approval except as incidental. Above all, we are anxious that this narrative should not become a panegyric inasmuch as the Bollandists have never been regarded as a mutual admiration society. But no one will blame us for feeling a lively sense of sympathy mingled with gratitude towards those who first opened up the path that we were

[2] With the exception of the last chapter of this book, these pages have appeared previously in the Parisian journal, *Études,* from March 20 to August 20 in the year 1919.

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to follow, nor for holding in remembrance the fact that we live illumined by their glory. Better initiated than most others in the secrets of their occupation, we are more competent to appreciate the difficulties of their task, and it is only just that we should not conceal the merits of these pioneers.

We shall not encumber our pages with footnotes and references. The *Acta* have been our principal source, together with the supplementary works, but above all the biographies of the collaborators, written by their colleagues and inserted usually in the first volume to appear after their death. Certain collections of archives have been consulted, also the correspondence of the early Bollandists. Unfortunately an important part of this correspondence perished in the disastrous fire which consumed the Library of Louvain University, where Dom Pitra, later Cardinal, found a complete volume of Papebroch's letters.[8]

We could quote a number of articles and notices, which deal either with the whole or some portion of the *Acta;* but we shall content ourselves with noting the dissertation by Father Van Hecke: *De ratione universa operis,* printed at the beginning of Volume VII of October, and

[8] *Études sur la collection der Actes des saints,* Paris, 1850, p. 68.

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Father De Smedt's article, *Bollandists,* in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* of New York. And since mention has been made of Cardinal Pitra, we cannot forget that the enthusiastic articles, subsequently published in book-form, which he consecrated to the Bollandists series, did much to attract the attention of the French clergy to the newly revived work. They were written for newspapers and bear traces of their origin. The frequent inaccuracies which disfigure them and the style, which is hardly in keeping with the gravity of the subject, have caused them to go rapidly out of date.[4]

[4] Principally in *L'Univers,* 1847, in the editions of September 5, 8, 11, 15, 21 and 26. Other instalments of this work have appeared in *L'Université catholique,* second series, vol. VII, pp. 332, 411, 520; vol. VIII, p. 37 and vol. X, p. 182.

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THE WORK OF THE BOLLANDISTS

CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE OF THE WORK

In 1603, Father Oliver Manare, a native of Tournai was sent by the General of the Society of Jesus to visit the chapters of the Belgian province.[1] He made inquiries as to the studies which were being pursued and endeavoured to determine how best to direct them in the interests of the Church and to the honor of the Society.

In answer to the visitor's questions on these matters, one of the monks remarked that when reading the Lives of the saints he had been surprised to find in them so many apocryphal stories, the orthodoxy of which might often well be

[1] *Memoriale de patris Heriberti instituto quo ad sanctorum historias et vitas illustrandas,* at the Bollandist Library, MS. 259 published in the *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de Belgique,* vol. V, pp. 263-270. A short biography of Father Manare in B. Losschaert, *P. Oliverii Manarei S. I. Exhortationes,* Brussels, 1912, pp. 3*-12*.

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questioned. This monk suggested that the libraries of Belgium were rich in hagiographical documents and that it would also be easy to secure the loan of other manuscripts, the publication of which would, if undertaken, be for the glory of the Church and of the saints. "If my superiors approve," he added "and if they allow me the necessary leisure, I have no objection to undertaking the work."

The idea was well received and the visitor asked for two memoranda: one to be submitted to the Consultors of the Province and the other to be sent to the Father General, Claudius Acquaviva. After examination at Rome and Brussels the scheme was approved and Father Rosweyde, the monk in question, was authorized to begin the work.

Father Héribert Roswey, whom according to present custom we shall continue to call Rosweyde, was born at Utrecht, January 21, 1569.[2] He became a novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Tournai on May 21, 1588, was made Master of Arts at the Douai University in 1591 and

[2] He signs himself Ros-wey in the *Album novitiorum*, and this is the form used in the first catalogues of the Belgian Province which mention his name. Later on we find *Rosweydus*. Sometimes he gives *Ros-weydus* on the title-page of his works. See the article *Rosweyde* by Father Alfred Poncelet in the *Biographie nationale*.

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began at an early age the preparation for his life work as a scholar. The hours of leisure allowed to him first by his studies and later by his work as a teacher were spent in visiting the libraries of the abbeys in the neighbourhood of Douai. As time went on, other cities became the object of his explorations; Louvain, during the course of his theological studies; afterwards, Antwerp, where he was prefect of studies at the time of the memorable conversation with Father Manare which resulted in his great undertaking.

As soon as the Father General had granted Rosweyde permission to take up the work, Father Bernard Olivier, the Belgian Provincial, afforded him opportunity to search the libraries of Liège. Nothing seemed now to stand in the way of the task incident to preparations for the publication of the lives of the saints when, just at this moment, a professor of apologetics fell ill at St. Omer and Father Rosweyde, the only man considered capable of succeeding to the chair was sent to replace him. Three years were spent in this work of teaching, and it was not until 1606 that he returned to Antwerp. Here, having correlated the first results of his previous researches, he sketched the plan of his future publications in a small volume entitled. *Fasti sanctorum quorum vitae in belgicis bibliothecis*

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manuscriptae.[8] This book gave a clear outline of the form in which he proposed to arrange the vast quantity of materials which he had already collected. It was at one and the same time an appeal to scholars whose help he needed in order to complete his lists and documents.

There were about thirteen hundred manuscripts relative to the Lives of the saints in the Belgian libraries and of most of these he had procured copies. In order the better to interest lovers of religious history, he inserted after the alphabetical list of saints a text which has long been considered a historical document of the first importance but which at that time was known only by incomplete extracts inserted by Baronius in his *Annales:* The Acts of SS. Tarachus, Probus and Andronicus.

Rosweyde's plan required for its completion the publication of eighteen folio volumes comprising three introductory, twelve, the Lives of saints, one volume of martyrologies, and two volumes of notes and indices.

The titles of the first three volumes were to be: *De Vita Christi et festis eius; De Vita beatae Mariae et festis eius; De Sanctorum festis diebus publice solemnibus.* The Lives of the saints were classified according to the calendar, one volume for each month. Only texts were in-

[8] *Antwerpiae, ex officina Plautiniana,* 1607.

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cluded in this series. Details of the volume that was to contain the *Martyrologia variorum* are not given.

On the other hand, Rosweyde, explains in full as to the last part, which he entitled: *Illustrationes in vitas sanctorum.* In the first volume, devoted entirely to the annotation of texts published in the twelve volumes of the principal series, the following subjects were to be dealt with: 1. The authors of the Lives of the saints; 2. The sufferings of the martyrs; 3. Pictures and statues; 4. Ecclesiastical rites, mentioned in the *Lives;* 5. Profane rites; 6. Chronological questions; 7. Geographical questions; 8. Glossary of obscure terms. Such was the complete plan of the scope of annotations which Rosweyde deemed necessary in order to explain the texts satisfactorily. One is rather surprised to note, that according to this plan, it was not his intention to criticize each one of the documents of the series but rather to write dissertations based on materials furnished by all the documents, and we are informed that this volume of notes was to be divided into eight books.

The indices, thirteen in number, were to fill the last volume: 1. Alphabetical index of the saints; 2. Index of saints, with a notice as to their native country, rank, condition, period, birthplace and the author of the *Life;* 3. Index

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of saints according to their respective circumstances: (monks, virgins, widows, married persons, etc.); 4. According to their functions and status (apostles, bishops, etc.); 5. According to their respective countries and provinces; 6. According to the places where the saints are venerated as patrons; 7. According to their position as patrons of certain maladies; 8. According to their position as patrons of different trades; 9. Proper names of persons and places; 10. Texts of scripture; 11. Index for apologetics; 12. Index of catechisms; 13. Alphabetical index of subjects and words.

The following is the manner in which Rosweyde meant to collect and prepare his materials: For the *Lives* already printed, for example in Lipomano and Surius, the text of these publications was not to be considered sufficient but was to be collated with the manuscripts. In previous collections, as is well known, documents had often been glossed over for the sake of style. The authority of the document was thus weakened although its expression may have been frequently improved. Prologues, miracles, obscure passages were suppressed. The texts therefore had to be restored to their original integrity.

Documents, the manuscripts of which were missing, were only to be accepted when it could be proved that they had not been thus tampered

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with. Inedited *Lives* were to be sought out from every quarter, and inserted in their proper places among the others. Obscure passages were to be explained and elucidated according to the programme of the *Illustrationes*.

Rosweyde's "prospectus" ended with an invitation to his readers to communicate their views as to this ground plan. We must suppose that the project of annotations in form of dissertations was not considered very practicable, and that Rosweyde received and accepted suggestions for its modification. This will be seen further on when we see him at work on the volume of the *Vitae Patrum*.

It would be interesting to know in detail the points of improvement submitted to Rosweyde after the publication of the *Fasti*. Is it true that several scholars, in particular Velser, advised him to follow a chronological order instead of the order of the calendar and that Rosweyde agreed with this opinion?[4] This is possible, but we do not know on what authority the statement has been made. Cardinal Bellarmin's reply is curious enough, and, it must be admitted, not very encouraging. To him the enterprise seemed stupendous and one that would demand almost endless labor and expense. Further, he asked, what

[4] Cf. *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de Belgique*, vol. V, 1868, p. 265.

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was likely to be found in these original texts? *Ne forte in originalibus historiis multa sint inepta, levia, improbabilia, quae risum, potius quam aedificationem pariant.* Would it not be better to publish a supplement to Lipomano and to Surius?[5]

Other correspondents wrote to say that in their opinion the scheme was not by any means an impossible one. The abbot of Liessies, Antony de Winghe, third successor of the venerable Louis de Blois, took a keen and practical interest in the undertaking. He helped Rosweyde with letters of introduction which gave him access to libraries attached to Benedictine abbeys; he also lent him books and manuscripts, had copies made for him and, when need required, gave him pecuniary assistance.

It seemed as if nothing could now hinder the realization of a plan so elaborately prepared, but unfortunately at Antwerp, Rosweyde had other occupations which prevented him from devoting his whole time to the work. He begged to be relieved, but was kept three years longer at Antwerp, and his work on the Acts of the saints made little progress. Finally, in answer to his

[5] Letter of March 7, 1608, preserved in the Bollandist Library and published in *Acta S.S.* Oct., vol. XVII, p. 1 and in C. De Smedt, *The founders of Bollandism* in *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth,* vol. I, p. 297.

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entreaties, he was sent to Courtrai, although hardly had he arrived there when Father Bauwens, confessor and prefect of studies, died and Rosweyde was required to take his place for two years.

In 1612, his superiors sent him back to Antwerp, not this time to the college but to the Professed House, where he remained until his death. In this place, although he never lost sight of his appointed task, he allowed himself to be drawn aside by other duties. Among these were controversial writings, critical editions of various works, a Life of the saints in Flemish, translated from the *Flower of the Saints* by Rivadeneira, *Silva eremitarum Aegypti ac Palestinae* finely illustrated with engravings by Bolswert, a general history of the Church based on the *Annales* of Baronius, an ecclesiastical history of the Netherlands, and he proposed also to bring out annotated editions of Arnobius, Tertullian, Lactantius, Minutius Felix, Prudentius and other Christian writers.

Among the scientific works closely associated with the Acts of the saints, two must be mentioned which are universally considered as of importance. One is the *Martyrology of Adon* preceded by the abridgment known as the *Petit Romain*, following close upon an edition of the Ro-

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man Martyrology by Baronius.[6] Lipomano, in his fourth volume, had merely given extracts from Adon. In 1581 Mosander had published it in complete form as a supplement to Surius; but he had not scrupled to change the order in which it was compiled, nor did he trouble to free it from matter foreign to the text, which had found its way into the manuscripts. Moreover, he did not know of the existence of the *Petit Romain,* which in those days was considered a very important document, and which was not made the subject of criticism until our own times. The *editio princeps* of Rosweyde is based on three manuscripts. The notices, not considered as belonging to the text of Adon are printed separately in an appendix. There follow some excellent historical notes and indices. It is a scientific piece of work which does credit to the period, but it is hardly necessary to add that the edition is not and could not be definitive. It was, however, sufficient to meet the needs of students for many generations.

Rosweyde's principal work, the *Vitae Patrum,*

[6] *Martyrologium Romanum . . . accedit Vetus Romanum martyrologium hactenus a Cardinale Baronio desideratum, una cum martyrologio Adonis ad mss. exemplaria recensito, opera et studio* Heriberti Rosweydi, *e Soc. Iesu.* Antwerpiae, 1613, pp. XXXVI-550, 10-228 indices.

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appeared in 1615. It is the foundation stone of the *Acta Sanctorum.*[1]

This collection, the publication of which was undertaken by Rosweyde, is one of the largest and most renowned in the entire literature of hagiography. It may be called the epic of the origins of monasticism in Egypt and Syria, an epic unsurpassed in interest and grandeur. Quite a number of Greek and Latin manuscripts contain either a part or all of the collection. As early as the thirteenth century the *Lives of the Fathers of the Desert* had been translated from the Latin, and the work competed successfully with less edifying books in circulation during the same period. When the art of printing was discovered, it was one of the first works to be reproduced and passed rapidly through numerous editions. The very success of this well known work and its wide diffusion produced their usual effect in the textual inaccuracies and confusion of the copies and not one of the editions published and designed, as they were, solely for edification was serviceable from a scientific point of view. To place the numerous and varied

[1] *Vitae patrum, de vita et verbis seniorum libri X historiam eremiticam complectentes auctoribus suis nitori pristino restituti ac notationibus illustrati opera et studio.* Heriberti Ros-weydi, LXXIX-1044 pages, index not paginated *Antverpiae* 1615.

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texts, of which the artificial collection of the *Vitae Patrum* was composed, within the reach of scholars and other educated readers was no easy matter. Rosweyde, however, did not allow himself to be discouraged. He gathered together every manuscript to which he could gain access—he mentions twenty-three—and examined twenty editions, one after the other, from the earliest undated *incunabulum* to the Alcala edition of 1596 and compared and classified them. The result was a text which has remained, almost up to the present day, the point of departure for all research on the subject. The whole work is divided into ten books of which the last and the last but one are not to be found in the old collections.

Book I is a collection of the *Lives* of the saints, *Vitae virorum,* sixteen in number, and *Vitae mulierum,* eleven in number. It begins with the *Lives* of St. Paul the Hermit and of St. Anthony, and the complete hagiography of St. Jerome is also included.

Book II is the *Historia monachorum* attributed to Rufinus who is now known to have been only the translator. Under his name also passed Book III entitled: *Verba seniorum.*

A compilation taken from the writings of Sulpicius Severus and of Cassian constitutes Book IV. A second collection of *Verba senio-*

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rum translated from Greek and Latin by Pelagius, deacon of the Roman Church, and divided by him into eighteen books, makes up Book V.

In the two following books are to be found a third and fourth collection of the same kind, translated respectively, by John the subdeacon and the Roman deacon Poschasius.

The document which forms the eighth book was known as *The Paradise of Heraclides.* It is in reality the *Lausiac History* of Palladius which Rosweyde was the first to attribute to its true author. He substituted the translation of the humanist Gentianus Hervet in place of the older versions, which are not, however, purely and simply rejected, but are printed in an appendix.

The Φιλόθεος ἱστορία of Theodoret translated by Gentianus Hervet and the *Spiritual Meadow* of Moschus translated by Ambrogio Traversari constitute the two last books of the collection.

The appendix includes the old Heraclides—Palladius, and a collection of apothegms of the Egyptian Fathers, translated from the Greek by Martin de Braga.

All the writings of which the collection is composed, even those of the appendix are preceded when necessary by an introduction, *Praeludia,* and followed by notes on the difficult passages, or those thought worthy of being elucidated. At

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the end of the volume there is a lexicon of rare words, *onomasticon rerum et verborum difficiliorum*, a table of contents and another of names of persons, a third of names of places and special indices for subjects dealt with in the annotations. The work starts out with general prolegomena, twenty-six in number, on the following subjects: the titles of the various books; their authors; their original language, the translators, the authority and utility of these books; the Latin editions and their classification, editions in the vernacular and the manuscripts utilized.

The minute and accurate methods now employed in criticizing a text did not exist in Rosweyde's time, and we must not expect to find in his edition results which can only be attained by such work. But, with this reservation, Rosweyde can be said to have touched upon every problem that occurs. His clear mind enabled him to state them plainly, and he brought to their solution all the resources of a learning which was at once thorough, sober and refined. Taking into consideration the vast range covered by the writings of which the collection is composed, the absence of facilities for such an undertaking at the period, and the difficulty of its execution, it is no exaggeration to say that the *Vitae Patrum* of Rosweyde is a masterpiece.

Without a doubt, the Acts of the saints, if

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treated according to Rosweyde's plan and method would have formed a most valuable series; but unfortunately this man so wonderfully gifted and so fully qualified to place hagiography on a scientific basis, stopped short after his first brilliant attempt. A Flemish translation of the Lives of the Fathers, 1617, various works which he ought to have left to others, a second edition revised and enlarged of the *Vitae Patrum* (1628) brought him to the verge of sixty. He might still, with his capacity for hard work and with his admirable equipment for the task, have hoped to give to the world a fine series of volumes of the Acts of the saints, even if not all that he had promised, but death came unexpectedly and ruined all these hopes. The end of this worthy prelate was glorious and enviable. He contracted a contagious disease while ministering to a dying man and breathed his last on October 5, 1629.

Rosweyde left behind him a considerable work, but in an unfinished state. Was it to be abandoned, or could a man learned and laborious enough be found to bring it to completion? This was the question which now preoccupied the superiors of the Society of Jesus. Their choice fell on Father John Bollandus who was at this time Prefect of studies at the College of Malines, and to him they assigned the task of examining the papers left by Rosweyde at the Pro-

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fessed House at Antwerp. Bollandus saw at once the importance of the materials at his disposal, and accepted the work on two conditions: first that he was not to be bound by any plan, but left free to follow his own ideas; second, that the books collected by Rosweyde were to be taken out of the community library and set aside for his own use.

These conditions were agreed to and Bollandus was transferred in 1630 from Malines to the Professed House at Antwerp where he was placed in charge of the Latin Sodality and of a confessional in the church. The Provincial judged that these duties would still leave him time enough to finish Rosweyde's work. It was as Papebroch says,[8] providential that the Provincial Father James Van der Straeten—whom he calls *antiquae probitatis vir*—did not realize the heavy task he had entrusted to Bollandus, and that the latter did not appreciate fully the exten of his obligations. Later, Bollandus was to admit that, if, at the beginning he had grasped the immensity of the task, he would have been discouraged and would never have dared to soar so high in his ambition. As it was, he set to work with all the eagerness of a man embarking

[8] *De vita, operibus et virtutibus Joannis Bollandi* n. 20, at the beginning of Vol. I of the *Acta Sanctorum Martii.*

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upon a great enterprise for which he feels himself well equipped and the end of which is within seeing distance. It is not the first time that a great illusion has proved to be the beginning of a noble work.

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CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDERS OF THE ENTERPRISE

John Bollandus was born in August 1596, at Tirlemont, in the Duchy of Limburg, the present province of Liège, near the village of Bolland, which probably gave its name to the family.[1] He was thirty-six when he began his Rosweyde work. Before taking up his theological studies, he had made a name as a brilliant professor in the Colleges of Ruremonde, Malines, Brussels and Antwerp. He had a thorough knowledge of antiquity, a decided taste for learning and a singular power of concentration. All these gifts had prepared him for the new career which was before him, and he had, moreover, prior to his arrival at Antwerp, formed acquaintance with many notable men of letters who were later to render him valuable assistance.

Rosweyde's project had included only the saints whose Acts were extant. Bollandus began by enlarging this scheme. There were a host of

[1] When the Germans burned Tirlemont in August 1914, the house of Bollandus, a landmark in that region, was destroyed.

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saints not mentioned in hagiographical literature, either in a Passion or in a biography, yet whose existence is attested by martyrologies or by explicit historical testimony, and whose cult at least is incontestable. Ought these to be omitted altogether? Bollandus was not of this opinion, and he decided, if the Acts were missing, to substitute an account compiled from information based upon original sources. Further, he did not accept the system, attempted by Rosweyde in the *Fasti*, of separating the text from the annotations. Instead, the documents concerning each saint, accompanied by all accessary data were to be published as a complete whole. The Acts of Bollandus were to be preceded by an introduction accompanied with summaries and followed by suitable annotations. Indices were to be attached to each volume. All these were most practical innovations. It is not indeed easy to see how a general introduction on very different subjects and a general commentary on the entire publication could have been satisfactory; for the numerous texts were in most cases quite independent one of the other. Moreover, a time was bound to come when the public would be in possession of these indispensable additions, without which the Acts of the saints would be for the majority of readers a closed book.

The available material was increasing daily.

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Bollandus wrote, everywhere, asking for texts and information, and his correspondents hastened to answer his appeal from all corners of Europe. This correspondence occupied much time, the more especially because services rendered called for reciprocal favors, and Bollandus was kindness itself. He was ever ready to oblige his correspondents, and the number of those who sought his aid in their literary work or for their publications is so great that it may well be asked what leisure time he could possibly find after he had satisfied so many demands. At the end of a few years he saw that the material was accumulating in inverse ratio to the time sufficient for work upon it. Only then did he represent to his superiors that the undertaking was beyond the strength of one sole man and that he must be given an assistant if the work was not to be allowed to fail. One difficulty stood in the way. The Professed House had no revenues and was unable to pay for the maintenance of a priest not devoted to the work of the ministry. The problem was solved by the generous intervention of the Abbot of Liessies, Rosweyde's friend and protector, who offered to give 800 florins as an allowance for an assistant to Bollandus. This was not the least of the manifold services rendered by this eminent benefactor who continued until his death to give proofs of his good-will

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towards the hagiographers and to stimulate them by his encouragement and advice. He was never forgotten by Bollandus and his collaborators. It was their wish that the name of Liessies should figure in the first volume of the series, and they therefore dedicated to Thomas Luytens successor to Antony de Winghe who died in 1637, the monumental introduction which they prefixed to the month of January. The preface to the month of February, which completes and corrects the former on certain points, is addressed to the Abbot Gaspar Roger and, by rare exception, the Life of the Venerable Louis de Blois, Abbot of Liessies, who died in 1566, is inserted on January 7, among the Acts of the saints and of the blessed of whose company it is in no way unworthy.

It was thus arranged that Bollandus should receive a coworker. Father Godfrey Henschenius, born at Venray in 1601, was chosen. He was an old pupil of Bollandus who no doubt had pointed him out to his superiors. Henschenius was a perfect Greek and Latin scholar, and seemed born to live surrounded by books. His robust health, moreover, enabled him to endure all the fatigues of severe intellectual work. The choice was thus a happy one, and the friendship which united master and scholar was most fruitful of results.

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At the moment when this assistance came, in 1635, Bollandus had almost finished the preparation of the Acts for the month of January, and was negotiating with a famous Antwerp printer, J. Van Meurs, as to the terms of publication. It was stipulated that while the volumes to which Bollandus was putting the finishing touches were being printed, Henschenius should devote his attention to the saints of the month of February.

They both set to work and the first sheets, consisting of the saints for the first four days of January had been printed off, when Henschenius brought the first instalment of his work to his master: his essays on the lives of Saint Vaast and of Saint Amand under February 6. He had not contented himself with inserting the texts between a short introduction and indispensable notes, but he had made a deep study of the two biographies, avoiding none of the difficulties presented by the subject. To clear up chronological problems, to introduce to the reader authors and personages, to place them in their proper setting and period, to refute current errors, in a word to elucidate the texts by a real commentary, such was the programme laid down by Henschenius.

This new manner of treating the subject was an inspiration to Bollandus. He immediately saw how great an advantage such a plan would

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be for the publication, and without a thought of personal vanity or of the labor involved in so profound a modification of his method, he made up his mind to reconstruct all that portion of the work that was already prepared for printing. Even the sheets which had been up to that point struck off were revised and the printer was asked to suspend his work.

The first important commentary which was to be sent to the press was that of St. Simeon Stylites, under January 5. It was taken back, rewritten and enlarged according to the method of Henschenius, and all the commentaries that followed were treated in the same way. Bollandus begged his assistant to give up for the time being the saints of February, and to help him recast those of January. He entrusted him especially with the saints of eastern France and of Italy, keeping for his own part those of Germany, Spain, England and Ireland. At the end of this conscientious preparation, the result of the closest collaboration, there appeared at last, in 1643, the two huge volumes of January, fourteen years after the death of Rosweyde, and eight years after the arrival of Henschenius. The publication was hailed with real enthusiasm by the world of scholars. A new field had been opened up for historical science. As has been said "the prolegomena placed by the Bollandists at the head of

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the biographies are the first examples of the critical method applied to original sources. For the first time the attempt was made on a large scale to classify the sources systematically, according to the period of the authors and their authenticity."[2]

Bollandus received letters of congratulation from all directions, but in some cases the congratulations they contained were concerned especially with the part which was not by him. He did not wish that any mistake should be made as to the importance of the collaboration of Henschenius, and expressed the desire that in future, beginning with the month of February, each author should put his initials to his own articles. But Henschenius was as humble and retiring as he was learned. All he called for, he said, was the approbation of the saints, and, for once, he refused to listen to his master. The three volumes of February were published anonymously. Henschenius insisted on the same arrangement for those of March, and although these latter were for the most part his own work, he did not wish the public to know this fact lest the disciple should be exalted above the master. Later Papebroch hoped in some supplementary volume to give to each his due, but he was un-

[2] E. Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* München, 1911, p. 328.

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able to do so and, in consequence, we have, except for a small portion of the work, no longer any means of identifying the respective authors.

The *Acta Sanctorum Januarii* were completed in the two garrets in which Bollandus had been obliged to store his papers and books. In such congested surroundings it was owing solely to his excellent memory and by means of carefully prepared catalogues that he was able to find what he wanted. It was moreover a severe strain for him to mount so often the steep stairs to reach his work. He asked, therefore, to be allowed to occupy a large room on the second floor, which was vacant. His superiors were at first unwilling, but finally gave him the permission and he installed himself in what was afterwards called the Bollandist Museum, the workshop which was to witness so many labors, and from which were to be issued, the fifty volumes of the series printed at Antwerp. The furniture was remarkable only for its simplicity: shelves, desks, and drawers of deal. It is to Bollandus that we can trace that tradition of strict economy which has enabled the work to grow without becoming a burden on anyone and to attain great results with resources that are relatively inconsiderable.

In 1658 there appeared the three volumes of February, which further increased the reputation of the two authors and which testify to their un-

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diminished activity and increased experience. Pope Alexander VII, who at the time when he was Papal nuncio at Cologne, had been in correspondence with Bollandus, and likewise many cardinals, wished to welcome at Rome the author of a work which had done so much honor to Catholic learning. Bollandus begged to be excused on account of his health, and in 1660 sent instead Father Henschenius, together with a new collaborator who had just been appointed.

This was Daniel Papebroch (Van Papenbroeck) born in Antwerp in 1628, almost at the date of inception of the undertaking for which he seemed indeed to have been born. He came of a very pious family which had chosen Bollandus as spiritual director and which venerated him as a father. The great hagiographer had from the first a presentiment of the destiny of little Daniel, and he was fond of repeating that, some day, this child would take his place. He took a great interest in the young student, directed his reading, advised him to practice literary composition and encouraged him to learn Greek and other languages. Daniel entered the Society of Jesus, and when his course of studies was completed in 1659, was appointed at the request of Bollandus as assistant to the hagiographers.

The old master had not been mistaken; Papebroch was to become the Bollandist *par excel-*

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lence. From the first day on which he began his career he gave himself heart and soul to scientific research for the glory of God and of the saints, fully persuaded that his task was important enough to prevent him from spending his activity and talents on any other task. His indefatigable ardor for work, his sound judgment, his keen critical sense and his ready pen soon placed him in the first rank, and his elders felt that this young man, who had so rapidly became identified with the work, was a sure guaranty of its future.

Papebroch was one of those scholars whose researches appear to have been aided by some almost miraculous power. The most interesting documents seemed to come of their own accord and place themselves under his hand; the rarest books were always within his reach. His information was unequalled in its abundance. His commentaries are distinguished by their soundness, and by a certain refinement of thought which is never encumbered with petty details. With remarkable sureness of touch he was able to disentangle the knot in every problem and, while not neglecting accessories which required attention, he never lost himself in minutiae.

Nevertheless, it is plain that he felt himself cramped within the narrow limits which circumstances, rather than the free choice of the founders, had imposed on the series. He could not

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persuade himself to leave unsolved questions of general import, which had not yet been touched on and on which his own final opinion of necessity depended. Let us give just one example. Apropos of a fictitious charter of Dagobert I belonging to Ceren, he was impressed by the difficulties the critic has to face when obliged to express his judgment on a great number of "diplomas" preserved in old collections of charters. During a journey in 1682, he was detained at Luxembourg for a month, and occupied his enforced leisure in studying this class of documents. As a result, he thought he might be able to formulate the rules of "diplomatic" criticism.

The improvised work undertaken with insufficient materials contained a series of very correct observations but resulted in extreme conclusions. Papebroch was inclined to suspect the authenticity of the greater part of the monastic diplomas, particularly those of the old Benedictine abbeys. This gave to Mabillon, who had close at hand the rich archives of his Order, an opportunity to take up the question and to establish it upon a broader basis and to create the masterpiece which he entitled: *De re diplomatica*, in which the principles of criticism were definitively established.

The sequel made it plain that Papebroch's character was as admirable as his learning. He

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wrote a fine letter to Mabillon, in which he does not conceal the fact that at first he felt somewhat mortified. But reason soon gained the upper hand. "The only satisfaction," he says, "to be derived from having written on this subject is that it has been the occasion for the production of such an admirable work as yours. Whenever opportunity offers, I shall make it clear that I entirely agree with your opinion, I am not a learned man, but have a desire to learn."

Mabillon was just the one to understand the nobility of such sentiments, and Papebroch received a reply worthy of his own letter. "I shall never tire," he said, "of admiring such great modesty coupled with such great learning. I know of no example so illustrious, for where, indeed, is the scholar who, when defeated in a discussion, has ever had the courage to acknowledge it and to proclaim his defeat publicly? You have done this in a manner beyond all praise and, not satisfied with being supreme in erudition, you wish also to be supreme in humility. Far from being proud of my success, I would prefer to be the writer of your letter, so full of humility, than to entertain any vain glory for my own work."[3]

[3] *Propylaeum antiquarium circa veri et falsi discrimen in vetustis membraneis,* at the heading Vol. II of April.

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This incident has often been related, but it is so refreshing as a contrast to the petty quarrels which too often disturb the learned world, that one never wearies of reading it again and again.*

Another characteristic of Papebroch is his scientific courage. As soon as he thought he had discovered the truth, he considered that he ought to proclaim it, and he never failed in his duty. We shall have to tell how much this was to cost him.

Papebroch's collaboration begins with the first volume of March. The three volumes of this month appeared together in 1668, those of April in like number in 1675. Then in 1680, the first three volumes of May; in 1685, Volumes IV and V; in 1688, Volumes VI and VII. The first five volumes of June appeared separately in 1695, 1698, 1701, 1707, 1709. Papebroch's name is no longer to be found on the two following volumes, which contain appendices. He had finished the first six months and supplied the best

* On the relations of Papebroch with Mabillon, see an article by Father Albert Poncelet, *Mabillon et Papebroch* in *Mélanges Mabillon*, Paris 1908, pp. 71-75. The authors of the *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, vol. I, p. 17, remark that Papebroch "was not satisfied with a mere approval of the *De re diplomatica* in speaking or writing and never ceased to praise it in his later published works." Quotations follow in support of this statement.

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part of the eighteen volumes which are in the opinion of all experts the most important of the early series.

Prior to the appearance of the volumes of March and after great sufferings endured with much fortitude, Bollandus had died on September 12, 1665, universally regretted but leaving in good hands the work to which his name has ever since been attached. Henschenius and Papebroch deserve to share with him the honor of being known as the founders of the Bollandist undertaking.

The *Acta Sanctorum* had attained a European reputation. The superiors of the Society could no longer fail to recognize the necessity of providing for the future of the work and of assuring the perpetuity of the tradition thus established. In 1670, Father John Ravesteyn was appointed assistant to the two survivors of the first generation. The choice was an unfortunate one. It soon turned out that the candidate was better suited for a life of priestly duties than for the austere labor of hagiography. He was replaced in 1675 by Father Daniel Cardon who died a victim of his devotion to the plague stricken in 1678.[5] These were the first of that

[5] On August 28, 1679, Papebroch wrote to Nicolas Heinsius: "Valet optimus senex Henschenius et senis adhuc horis studet quotidie, iunio eminus preparando vacans. Danielem Cardonum, quem toto triennis iam

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class of collaborators whose slight connection with the work left but little trace and who do not rank amongst those entitled to be called Bollandists.

It became urgently necessary to fill the place of the deceased. In March, 1679, Conrad Janninck, born at Groningen in 1650, was called from Malines, where he was teaching Greek, to come to the aid of the hagiographers. He was still a scholastic, and had not yet begun his theological studies. His principal occupation was at first to help his seniors in such minor tasks as correction of proofs and the drawing up of indices. He complied with good grace, and to him is due the speedy publication of the first three volumes of May. Under the direction of his seniors, he was thus initiated into the work of the profession. After two years and a half, Papebroch declared him to be *insigniter probatus*, and asked that he should be sent to Rome to devote himself to the study of theology.

From that time on he had the opportunity of

formaveramus in spem successionis, abstulit feralis anni superioris autumnus, qui ex hac una nostra domo intra dies octodecim sustulit evangelicos operarios quatuordecim, dum diu noctuque, requie nulla indulta, ipse aeque ac ceteri assistit aegris moribundisque; quae res etiam mihi altera iam vice morbum letalem attulit." P. Burman, *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum*, vol. II, p. 787.

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rendering valuable services, by visiting libraries, or by entering into relations with the learned men of that country, but it was only on his return to Belgium that he began to collaborate upon the volumes of the series. Possessed of unquestionable merits as a scholar, as is proved by his writings, Janninck had also personal qualities which he was able to employ for the good of the work, by attracting fresh sympathy towards it, by finding new patrons, and when the hour of trial came, defenders. At the critical moment, when the work was threatened by intrigues which almost imperilled its existence, it was Janninck who was sent to Rome to ward off the blow.

When, in 1681, he left Antwerp to finish his studies at Rome, Henschenius and Papebroch managed to have him replaced by Father Baertius (Baert) of Ypres. Hardly had the latter arrived when Henschenius died. The collaboration of Father Baertius, which extended from Volume IV of May to Volume V of June brought some good work to the *Acta Sanctorum*, but on the whole was not very noteworthy. As one reads his biography one gets the impression that he allowed himself to be drawn away from scientific research by apostolic work. In temporal administration, however, he rendered signal service and it should be noted that he was always willing to undertake those material duties which are indispensable to every scientific pursuit.

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Father Nicholas Rayé of Brussels, who came to Antwerp in 1697, is the author of the treatise on the ἀκολουθία of the Greek service, placed at the beginning of Volume II of June. He made but a passing stay in the Bollandist Museum which he left to resume the work of teaching. In 1698, he was replaced by Father Francis Verhoeven of Bruges, who scarcely had time to get well into the work, before his death in 1701.

This was a crucial moment for the *Acta Sanctorum*. In this same year, Papebroch who was already blind, was nearly carried off by a severe illness from which, however, he recovered, as he also recovered from his blindness. There was indeed good reason to fear for the future and it was imperative that the little company should be strengthened by a new recruit.

In 1702, Father J. B. Sollerius (Du Sollier) of Herseaux (West Flanders) had to give up the exercises of the third year of probation and fill the place left vacant by Father Verhoeven's death. Papebroch gave him his essay on the Patriarchs of Alexandria to revise and finish.

The commentaries of Father Du Sollier, some of which are most important, are scattered through the seven volumes of July and the first three volumes of August. His chief work is the edition of the Martyrology of Usuard, published in the June supplements, which for two centuries

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has remained the best contribution to the study of historical martyrologies.

For twenty years, he administered the material concerns of the work, and obtained for the printing of the *Acta Sanctorum,* a privilege which put an end to serious difficulties. His administration was marked by several measures of interior organization. Until his time the hagiographers did all their work together in the library, where each had his appointed place. Sollerius succeeded in obtaining for his colleagues separate rooms near the library. By this arrangement, they were preserved from certain interruptions, and were free from the intrusion of visitors who were shown into the general room. But one can well question the extent to which the work as a whole profited by this innovation.

Papebroch was now living in retirement, Janninck and Baert were ill and the weight of the task rested on Du Sollier's shoulders. In 1713, Father Pinius (Pien) of Ghent was appointed to share the burden. Pinius was a modest and laborious assistant who took a leading part in editing the seven volumes of July, the six volumes of August and the first volume of September. The Acts of the founder of the Society of Jesus, which the Bollandists could not allow themselves to treat as of the "common run of saints," were entrusted to Father Pinius, and his commentary

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on Saint Ignatius, for July 31, is still a valuable source of information. Not less valued are his works on the ancient liturgies of Spain, the fruit of a journey he made in the Peninsula for the purpose of study.

Father Baert, who died October 27, 1719 was succeeded in the same year by Father Cuperus (Cuypers) of Antwerp. His name appears in the volumes of July, beginning at the third, and in the six volumes of August, which all contain commentaries signed by him, full of valuable material albeit somewhat prolix in style. The long treatise on the chronology of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, heading the first volume of August, is from his pen. He also endeavored to perfect the scientific equipment of the Bollandist Museum, particularly by developing the series of indices drawn up for common use.

Two years later, in 1721, Father Peter Van den Bossche (Bosschius) of Brussels joined him to take the place of Janninck, who died in 1723. His career was not very long for he died in 1736, fifteen years after his arrival at Antwerp. His collaboration begins with Volume IV of July and ends with Volume III of August.

In the same year in which Bosschius died, Father Du Sollier retired, worn out with age and infirmities. To fill these two vacancies only one man at first could be found, capable of succeed-

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ing to so weighty an inheritance. He had, however, broad shoulders and could stand the strain. Father J. Stilting, born at Wijck, had finished his education at Antwerp, and showed from the first, all the qualities necessary for the work of the Bollandists, and chiefly an indefatigable activity. The volumes, on which he collaborated, Volume V of August and the subsequent ones, as far as Volume I of October contain nearly two hundred and fifty commentaries, from his hand, on the most varied subjects.

Another difficult period now lay before the work, and it is clear that recruiting was attended with many obstructions. Du Sollier died in 1740 and Cuperus in the following year. About this time appear and disappear, within a few years, the names of Father Perset of Audenarde, Limpens of Aelbeke, Van de Velde of Antwerp, Frentecamp of Audenarde, Dolmans of Lummel. For want of health, or lack of fitness or vocation, all ended by giving up the hagiographic career and were appointed to other duties. The only ones to persevere were Father Constantius Suyskens of Bois-le-Duc, who arrived in 1745, and John Périer of Courtrai, who arrived in 1749. When Pinius died in 1749, his place remained vacant until 1751.. His successor, Father Urban Stickerus (De Sticker) died at the end of two years. He was replaced in 1754, by Father Clé of Ant-

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werp, who, seven years later, was released from the work to take the professorship of Biblical literature at Louvain. Later he became Provincial of the Society.

Father Cornelius De Bye (Byaeus) of Elverdingue succeeded him in 1761. He was hardly installed in the Professed House when death carried off in quick succession Father Stilting and Father Périer on February 28 and June 23, 1762. These vacancies were filled in the same year by Father James De Bue (Buaeus) of Hal, and Father Joseph Ghesquière of Courtrai. The latter was entrusted with another work of historical research of which we shall speak later. In this same year Father Suyskens passed away, the last Bollandist to die at the Professed House of Antwerp. His place was filled by Father Ignatius Hubens of Antwerp who, together with Father De Bye and Father De Bue, were to experience the woeful days of the dispersion and to witness the death throes of a work which, through trials of all kinds, had given abundant evidences of life. Volume III of October, the fiftieth of the collection, is dated from Antwerp 1770 and is signed: *a Constantino Suyskeno, Cornelio Byeo, Jacobo Bueo, Josepho Guesquiero e Societate Iesu presbyteris theologis.* The following volume appeared ten years later at Brussels with the same names and in addition *Ignatius*

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Hubenus, but the words *e Societate Iesu* have disappeared.

The suppression of these three words, is apparently but a small matter and, to a superficial observer judging only by the outward appearance and the arrangement of the volumes, the work would imply the same progress as in the past. In reality it had received a fatal blow, and was like those invalids who continue to look healthy whilst the doctors foresee the near approach of death. One might think that the group of workers who had created the *Acta Sanctorum* had lived their own independent life. As a matter of fact, their connection with the Society giving them stability and financial support, strengthening their spirit, was the indispensable condition of their existence. The close link which united its members alone made possible the intimate collaboration required by so long and arduous a task and, without the continuance of a tradition guaranteed by the foresight of superiors, without the systematic preparation of future workers and the possibility of a call for recruits when the enterprise seemed about to fail, it is difficult to see how a literary enterprise which had demanded the energies of several generations could be certain of a continued existence.

It must be admitted that the superiors were

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fortunate in their selection of men to begin the work. Although Bollandus collaborated only upon eight volumes of the collection, it was with perfect justice that the little hagiographical Society sheltered itself beneath his respected name. His high qualities of mind and heart, his lofty sentiments, his firm fidelity to all the duties of his religious vocation, the example which he gave to all of piety and self-denial, assured him of an ascendancy over his companions which imparted a most inspiring impulse to the new-born work. In a labor which demanded such different aptitudes, for which it was necessary to depend on the fuller knowledge of others and to know how to submit to strict discipline and constant supervision, Bollandus understood to the full the importance of close collaboration and the necessity of grouping together minds not separated by any disagreement on vital points. To be certain of founding a school, he determined to form a family and, in this, he succeeded. His companions always speak of their master Bollandus with affectionate veneration. The intimate history of the house is revealed to us in the biographies of Bollandus and of his successors, in the correspondence of his assistants during their travels, and in the *Acta Sanctorum* by a mass of details as to matters of almost family interest, which it was the custom at that time to include in discussions and in the most serious subjects.

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It is plain that one and the same single purpose inspired them all and that was to pursue faithfully the work which had brought them together. Each one stated his ideas freely, suggested improvements and made known his discoveries. Every new find was welcomed with joy as an addition to the common inheritance, and when Bollandus received from his associates the result of further research on a subject which he had already treated, he simply replied that he ought to have been the first to think of it.

I cannot understand why it has been asserted that Papebroch deliberately implanted within the *Acta Sanctorum* a critical tendency which provoked a certain amount of resistance on the part of his collaborators.[6] All were fully of one mind as to the principles, which, however, were naturally applied with better effect as their experience widened. Bollandus acknowledged, and Papebroch was never weary of repeating that, in the profession of an hagiographer, one learns every day. The Acts of February show a marked progress over those of January, and a glance at the new preface which Bollandus put at the head of the second month, shows how much his horizon had widened.

He had perceived that the Irish saints ought not to be treated in the same way as the saints

[6] Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique*, p. 61.

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of other countries. He therefore called for the publication of Irish martyrologies, hoping thus to be able to introduce some order into the chaos of this branch of hagiography. He knew too what to expect from fictitious Spanish chronicles, and was ever on his guard against the somewhat suspicious wealth of certain monastic martyrologies. The saints of Sardinia, received at first without mistrust, were to be henceforth closely examined, for he had learned to know the method in vogue in that country of the multiplication of martyrs. It was of course impossible that a final judgment should be passed on the many new questions which continued to arise. When Henschenius and Papebroch witnessed at Naples the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, they did not know that in Italy and, particularly in the kingdom of Naples, this same phenomenon was being repeated in the case of other relics attributed to various saints. It is not surprising that our two scholars never thought of questioning a phenomenon, the miraculous character of which was doubted by nobody at the time.

Certain differences of opinion, noticeable occasionally between one generation and another, may thus be explained by the progress of research. But it would be a mistake to think that the hagiographers wished, at any period, to form a common opinion on every subject, or that they

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ever attained that impossible degree of unanimity of mind, which would absorb all personal thought in the thought of a community. Without ever neglecting the deference due to their master, Henschenius and Papebroch did not hesitate to state sometimes with remarkable candor, that they did not share his views on certain questions. For example they regretted that he had received into the *Acta Sanctorum* the Life of Saint Telesphorus printed under January 5 and, that without making more categorical reservations, he admitted the Passion of Saint Eudocia on March 1. In the latter case Bollandus acted out of regard for Father Peter Poussines, from whom he had received the documents, and was content to reproduce some criticisms written by Father Poussines in an enclosed letter, when forwarding them. Henschenius thought more should have been said. "As for me," Papebroch modestly adds, "I was not then capable of forming an opinion on such subjects."[7]

To Bollandus can be traced the tradition which suppressed all degree of superiority in the group of hagiographers. The oldest, the *senior*, was by right of age, the first amongst equals, *primus inter pares* who served as an intermediary between them and the authorities. The only

[7] *Responsio Danielis Papebrochii ad exhibitionem errorum Pars secunda,* Antverpiae, 1697, p. 171.

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other offices were those of librarian and procurator. In fact these could hardly be called offices to which regular appointments are made, they resembled rather duties distributed according to circumstances. The critical revision of each work was sought by the authors from all the colleagues. In everything relating to the progress of the work, the Senior had to come to an agreement with his collaborators. Authority lay with the group, and decisions were taken by a majority of votes. In case of a tie vote the decision rested with the Provincial.

Among the sacrifices required by the saints from those who devoted themselves to the work of collecting their Acts, there is one the merit of which can only be appreciated by their brothers in the priesthood. At first, the lack of means obliged the hagiographers to take their share in the ministry of the Professed House so that the functions of the confessional, preaching and catechising occupied a considerable part of their time. Bollandus was the first to feel how greatly this multiplicity of duties compromised a work which really claimed a man's whole energy, and he urged his superiors to relieve him of these ministrations, in which, however, he had been most successful. Henschenius, in his turn, was often disturbed in his studies by being called to the confessional, and his attention was sometimes

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diverted by occupations which could have been entrusted to others. Later he regretted that he had not given all his time to the *Acta Sanctorum* and begged his superiors not to allow Papebroch to be taken away, under any pretext, from his literary work.

Here again, Papebroch is the model to be emulated by all. He was able to resist the allurements to which a fervent religious priest is always subject, whose zeal for souls is rewarded by visible results. He renounced these consolations to devote himself entirely to the fatigues of an indirect apostolate.[8] Later, he computed the

[8] At the time of the pestilence which made so many gaps in the ranks of the Fathers in the Professed House at Antwerp, Papebroch was for a time employed in hearing confessions on Sundays and feast days. Attacked by this plague, he was twice at the point of death. He recovered, but was forbidden all apostolic work by his superiors. He relates the fact in this manner to his friend Nicholas Heinsius (August 28, 1679): "Quod considerantes superiores exemerunt me a communi ceteris onere audiendarum stato in loco festis dominicisque diebus confessionum. Eo quod huic curae inseparabiliter connexa sint impendenda sanis consilia, aegris solatia, auxilia morientibus, cum grandi impendio temporis nec non vitae periculo quotidiano, quoties solito gravior mortalitas ingruit. Ego huic superiorum voluntati eatenus acquiesco, quatenus meliorem victimis obedientiam esse intelligo: alias quis deses in museo, in eiusmodi publica calamitate (quam

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effects of the distractions admitted by Henschenius, and proved with regret that but for these delays, instead of finishing only the first six months, they could have reached the month of August. He was consequently disheartened at seeing his colleague Janninck carried away by an inclination which piety seemed to justify. The Father General was apprised of it and supported Papebroch in his opinion. Janninck was ordered to give up his work at the confessional. He himself was thankful to his venerated master for having helped him to break the bonds which threatened to paralyze him entirely. Everybody was satisfied except, of course, his former penitents.

With the exception of the three founders Bollandus, Henschenius and Papebroch whom we have observed at the inauguration of the plan, in the first stages of tentative effort and during the slow work of organization, the biographies of the older Bollandists are rather monotonous. When once the path was marked out, they followed it with unremitting perseverance. The eagerness of the early days was no longer so

utinam diu avertat ab hac urbe Deus!) residere possit, neque malit pro fratribus, extrema ope indigis, animam exponere, et si vocaverit Deus, ponere?" Burman, *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum*, vol. II, p. 787.

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remarkable and zealous initiative no longer so necessary. A law had been established, a method fixed, and they lived according to the experience of their predecessors.

However the various works of the collaborators are far from having an equal value, nor are all the volumes they published of like importance. Four distinct periods have been noted in the *Acta Sanctorum*. The most brilliant of these is that of the triumvirate of founders, which reaches to the end of the first six months. The second, which may be connected with the name of Du Sollier, has not the same luster. More space is given to dissertation, and there is a pronounced tendency to exhaust a subject to the detriment of certain texts which are analysed rather than reproduced in their integrity. With July, the printing arrangement is improved, additions and corrections which abound under Papebroch are avoided. It should be added that Papebroch had the intention of reprinting the first six months entire, and hoped in the new edition to work all additional matter into the text, but this project was never realized. The third period is fairly well represented by Stilting: very laborious work, but with an unfortunate leaning toward polemics. Instead of facts and doctrines, he is busied with contrary opinions, and loses time and space in refuting them. These super-

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fluous discussions have had the effect of making the collection unduly heavy. The fourth and last period is that of Father De Bye, who has left excellent commentaries, although he seems to have made but little effort to bring back the *Acta Sanctorum* to the conciseness of the early days. The work of this period reflects, as may well be expected, the troubles and preoccupations of the time. The hour for peaceful study had passed, and the approach was felt of the storm which was to sweep everything away. The first volumes for October were born under the shadow of this impending calamity.

Other circumstances, moreover, affected the development of the work. If the campaign conducted against Papebroch had failed to intimidate this valiant champion, we cannot deny that it influenced some of his successors and that they were less ready than he was to stand by the inevitable consequences involved in their researches. Thus it happens sometimes that in certain commentaries, the premises invite daring conclusions which the reader is left to deduce for himself. Further, the variety of temperaments and of talents has to be taken into consideration. The timid mind of a Cuperus, for example, hesitates as to opinions concerning the legend of the Seven Sleepers, while adopting on the apostolate of St. James in Spain conclusions which are

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quite difficult to defend. But even where the inferences are halting, the reader is instructed in the facts of the case, and is given the means of drawing his own conclusion. It must be said in justice to all those laborers who passed through the workshop of the *Acta Sanctorum* that they gave themselves up to unremitting toil, and that they knew how to handle with skill a great mass of historical detail. If they have themselves not always succeeded in reaping the fruit of their labors, they have at least seldom failed in facilitating the task for those who were to come after them.

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CHAPTER III

THE SOURCE MATERIALS

In order to understand the organization of the work undertaken by Bollandus, as he conceived it, we must keep in mind his paramount object which was to gather together and criticise works bearing on the history and the adoration of the saints, i.e., of every personage whose memory has been officially venerated in any church.

If the discipline of the primitive period had remained in force, the search for material would in every case have been much simplified. The cult of each saint was, at first, observed within strict limits and it was in the church to which he belonged that one would expect to find all the data necessary for a complete documentation. A tendency to go beyond these narrow bounds was shown at an early period. Relics which multiplied, as it were, the saint's burial place and written narratives which carried his fame far and wide altered these conditions, and whereas the cult of some saints remained altogether local, extension in a greater or less degree became the ordinary rule.

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From a literary point of view the consequences are obvious. Each church, in theory at least, possessed documents on its particular saints and also on those it had borrowed from other churches. Every church which honored a particular saint had to be scrutinized frequently as to his history and always as to his cult. The hagiographer who specialized on a single saint was thus in quite a different position to the historian who is trying to throw light on some local celebrity. It was not enough for him to examine some few bundles of archives, all gathered in one spot. The saint is a hero who belongs to all humanity and his memory lives in many lands where he himself never set foot.

And Bollandus did not intend to limit his inquiry to any selection of saints. *Sancti quotquot toto orbe coluntur* that was the programme affixed to the title page of the whole series, and no corner of Christendom escaped his inquirer.

The written monuments of the lives and cults of the saints are thus diffused throughout the churches of the entire world; they are also composed in every language. In antiquity and in the Middle Ages, the biographers and panegyrists of the saints wrote, according to their respective countries in Latin, Greek, Syrian, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopian, Armenian, and Georgian. After the conversion of the Slavonian nations, their

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language also became one of the languages of hagiography and amongst the oldest documents of our modern idioms are to be found throughout all Christian nations Lives of the saints translated from Latin or Greek and sometimes even original Lives.

Latin hagiography excels all others in the wealth of its production. Counting only the documents which have been published or which are fairly well known—and the field is far from being exhausted—a list of Latin Lives contains more than nine thousand items, as against nineteen hundred Greek Lives and from twelve to thirteen hundred of the Oriental series. In this number, only narratives which have developed into the form of monographs have been counted. It does not include the innumerable extracts from chronicles or abridgments with which the investigator often has to content himself.

The manuscripts which contain the text of hagiographical documents, no matter to what category they belong, are not usually isolated, they are often very numerous, and scattered over a wide area. There was not a church, monastery nor religious institution of any kind but possessed a certain number, not devoted to exclusively local saints, but often to saints of countries far distant, whose cult had been transplanted and whose legend alone had been accepted simply as an

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aid to devotion. For there exists amongst Christian communities an interchange of legends which does not necessarily imply evidences of an established cult, also borrowings between churches speaking the same language, between Greek countries and Latin countries, a sort of literary commerce that is sufficiently explained by intercourse with adjacent countries. These communications were encouraged by particular circumstances. Oriental legends, for example, came to our countries without having been transmitted by the natural medium of the Greek language. It is known that Gregory of Tours was acquainted with a Syrian who translated for him a number of pious stories current in his own far off country.

The ever increasing number of hagiographical texts which began to circulate suggested naturally the idea of gathering them into collections and arranging them in some sort of sequence.

The natural sequence was that of most practical usage—a series of readings for the feasts of the years; less frequently the order was that of the subject dealt with. This gave rise to *Passionaries,* and *Legendaries* amongst Latin races, and to *Menologies* amongst the Greeks, containing Lives of the saints for every day in the year or at least for certain dates.

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The documents composing these collections were often very extensive. They were longer than the liturgical or conventual *lections* and private devotion adapted itself with difficulty to so cumbersome a form. Hence the origin of epitomes, either separate or grouped together, which formed the abridged *Legendaries* of which the Golden Legend and the *Sanctorale* of Bernard Guy are the best known examples in Latin, also *Synaxaries* and the collections of Βίοι ἐν συντόμῳ in Greek, and *Synaxaries* in oriental literature.

Generally these collections contain, in common, facts relating to saints of more than usual repute; added to these is given particular information determined by the custom of the country. They are made up of two kinds of documents, some bearing upon the history of the saint, such as Passions and Lives, others connected with their worship, such as translations and miracles.

Side by side with the documents written in narrative style must be set the martyrologies or calendars which are essentially lists of festivals. Each church has naturally its own calendar and the decisive testimony to the existence of any saint's cult is the fact of its inclusion in the official martyrology of a church.[1]

[1] See our article, *Le Témoignage des martyrologes* in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. XXVI, pp. 78-99.

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A general martyrology is made up of the fusion of several local calendars, and a compilation which can be proved to contain the calendars of all the separate churches is able to claim the title of universal martyrology.

The name of a saint set under a fixed date forms the first and essential element of the martyrology. In the general martyrologies it was customary to add some minor details which helped to identify the individual. The simple entry, taking the form of a notice or brief biography, constitutes the characteristic historical martyrologies.

Great diversity of contents and wording is to be met with in the innumerable manuscripts of calendars or martyrologies and not one exists, no matter where composed, which does not contain certain peculiarities requiring explanation.

The documents we have just mentioned do not exhaust the series of texts, which owe their origin to the cult of a saint. Dating from a period which it is needless here to determine, the processes of canonization begin to appear, as well as diplomas attesting the authenticity of relics, then votive inscriptions, liturgical memorials and chronicles stating facts which are often important from the hagiographical point of view.

It would be useless to continue this enumeration in order to explain how formidable was the amount of materials accumulated in the vast

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field which Collandus was about to explore. The work might have been rightly considered an almost boundary venture if at the outset he had been obliged to include all the subjects and sources connected therewith. It was by no means possible to visit every church, to read and make an inventory of documents of all sorts and sizes, written in about twenty languages, with the hope of making a sure and satisfactory selection.

As a matter of fact, circumstances somewhat simplified the problem by compelling a selection from these materials, a selection however to which a fully organized scientific enterprise would scarcely have resigned itself.

Many documents which, to-day, we cannot do without were at that time inaccessible, and practically nonexistent. In the seventeenth century the whole of oriental hagiography was unknown and with trifling exceptions, the means for obtaining information or getting at these sources did not exist. Slavonian hagiography was almost equally well concealed from the curiosity of scholars by their ignorance of the language, the absence of all preparatory work and the condition of the countries where it would have been necessary to explore. The study of modern literatures had not yet commenced nor did the custom of those times urge scholars in that direction. In addition, it was known that

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from the historical standpoint, this literature of translations might well be neglected, since the originals were within easy reach.

All these causes limited in some measure an horizon that would otherwise have been excessively vast. The realms lying before the hagiographers were the Greek and the Latin, and literary research was restricted within the circle of the classical languages. But even here the field was immense and we must go back to that period in order to appreciate the task of its exploration. Great libraries, where the literary treasures of a province or a country are centralized, did not exist in those days. Every institution possessed its own library and archives and the student was obliged to knock at a score of doors before he could reach what a single institution offers today to every comer, nor did they all open easily. Strict rules or irksome restrictions kept the investigator at a distance, unless he had taken care to provide himself with an influential patron, and too often the inquirer found his path stopped by some Cerberus ever on the watch to guard from others the riches he sought to retain for his own disposal. The preliminary work of finding one's way about in a collection of manuscripts, which we can now do beforehand with the help of catalogues, was impossible in those days. Catalogues and inventories, when they existed, were

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only to be found on the spot and almost always one was dependent on the chance discoveries of the moment. In short, everything seemed to conspire against organized work.

In order to collect materials scattered through so many libraries, two methods were practicable: to visit in person those within reach, and to get research work done by correspondents. Rosweyde had to a certain extent adopted both of these plans, and they were later developed by the Bollandists on a larger scale.

The Vatican Library which Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667) promised to throw open freely to the Bollandists was the first one to attract them. To urgent appeals from Rome, Bollandus, at that time weighed down by infirmities, made reply, after the publication of the month of February, by offering to send in his place his two colleagues Henschenius and Papebroch. Once the necessary authorization had been obtained, they began to prepare for the expedition by drawing up an alphabetical list of all the Acts, whether printed or in manuscript, which they already possessed. This conspectus, which took four months to make ready, was of invaluable assistance. During their travels, it became the indispensable guide of the hagiographers who never lost it from sight even when, on occasion, they were obliged to cross mountains on foot.

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Our two investigators left Antwerp on July 22, 1660, accompanied by their master Bollandus who insisted on going with them as far as Cologne. There he said goodbye to his beloved collaborators, charging them to keep him acquainted at regular intervals with important happenings incident to their journey, with the progress of their work and the discoveries they might suceed in making. During the twenty-nine months of their absence, over one hundred and forty letters were sent to Antwerp, thus maintaining, as was so essential, communication between the collaborators and their chief.

Besides minor items of news, we find in these letters many questions which Bollandus was asked to elucidate in reference to some unexpected discoveries. He tried to comply with these requests from his colleagues and when they were nearing some important center he always sent useful instructions to guide them in their research. A great part of this correspondence, together with the diary written by Papebroch, has come down to us, affording valuable information about this first literary journey of the Bollandists. From Cologne they went to Coblenz, thence to Mayence, Worms, Spires, Frankfort, Aschaffenburg, Wurzburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg, Eichstadt, Ingolstadt, Augsburg, Munich, Innsbrück and Trent.

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From the cordial welcome which they received everywhere the travellers could not but be impressed with the prestige already attaching to the name of Bollandus, and the esteem felt for a literary work which had been a veritable revelation to learned men of every description. It was not only in the houses of the Society that they were made welcome, every material and intellectual assistance being placed at their disposal. Abbeys, episcopal palaces, sometimes castles, gave them hospitality, and even Protestants were eager to lend a hand to these disinterested representatives of ecclesiastical science. They visited the famous sanctuaries, shrines celebrated in the history of saints, and especially libraries and archives. If an interesting document came their way, they transcribed it or made a note with a view to asking for a copy when a favorable moment should arrive.

Italy was the chief goal of their pilgrimage. One of the untoward accidents so frequent in the journeys of former times caused them to lose a week at Trent where navigation was held up by a flood of the Adige. At last they arrived at Verona, and then continued their journey by way of Vincenza, Padua, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Ravenna, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, Ancona, Osino, Loreto, Recannati, Macerata, Tolentino, Foligno, Assisi,

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Perugia, Spoleto, all of which places for various reasons were interesting to the hagiographer as well as to the historian, and it may well be surmised that they did not come away with empty hands.

They reached Rome two days before Christmas, and remained there until October 3 of the following year, 1661. The welcome accorded them by Pope Alexander VII was what might be expected from a personal friend of Bollandus and an avowed protector of the work. He hastened to notify Holstenius, Prefect of the Vatican, that the excommunications which kept chained to their shelves so many fine volumes in the libraries of the Italian peninsula were all suspended in favor of the two travelers, and he declared that all the hagiographical manuscripts of Rome were at their disposal. With a guide so sincerely devoted and enlightened as Holstenius, research in the Roman libraries was certain to produce most profitable results. Unfortunately death claimed this learned and illustrious scholar; his strength failed suddenly and when he felt his end approaching, he desired to be attended in his last moments by Henschenius.

The death of Holstenius was a great loss to the Church and to science, but it was especially grievous to the hagiographers who had counted on him to adjust common everyday situations.

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Quot menses, Henschenius wrote later, *Romae frustra per plateas eundo et redeundo impendimus quaerentes accessum ad bibliothecas!*[2] This does not mean that they were repeatedly subjected to such inconveniences, although Rome has never been the paradise of people who are in a hurry and above all, at this period, no one understood the fever for work which was consuming the collaborators of Bollandus. They did not allow themselves to be discouraged and gradually all obstacles were at length removed.

The harvest was most abundant, so much so that they could not dream of making all the transcriptions themselves. Fortunately copyists and, in particular, an excellent Greek scribe were found to undertake this task.

The work was organized somewhat as follows: The hagiographers read the manuscripts, made selections and gave the list of documents to their assistants to copy. They then collated the copies with the manuscripts as rapidly as they were finished. They had barely strength enough for the task. Every morning, they rose before the other monks and said mass, each one acting as officiant to the other, then went to resume their work and did not return till long after the hour of the general meal. Henschenius felt himself carried away

[2] Letter of December 3, 1661. Royal Library of Brussels, MS. 17671-72, fol. 73v.

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by his companion who was younger and of a more ardent temperament. He wrote to Bollandus: "Father Daniel (Papebroch) is indefatigable and his diligence stimulates me. He is afraid of losing a quarter of an hour!"[8] Our students did not allow themselves to be distracted from their literary work by the many interesting sights and venerable monuments which, in the Eternal City, take up the pilgrim's day. This sacrifice must have cost something to men who combined a profound knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity with a very extensive classical education.

Amongst the Roman libraries which furnished the greatest number of texts, must be mentioned the Vallicellane. Our hagiographers were never tired of praising the generosity with which the Oratorian Fathers threw open to them their collections which they had previously intended to make use of themselves, nor of praising the delicate thoughtfulness shown them by the Fathers who treated them as if they were members of their own community.

They were also able to see the library of the Queen of Sweden which Bollandus had already hastily examined in Antwerp. Cardinal Azzolini who had charge of it came regularly in his carriage to get them and take them there.

[8] Letter of June 17, 1661, MS. quoted above, fol. 49v.

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The Vatican Library, naturally, furnished the greater part of the literary spoils carried away from Rome. The Greek texts which the Bollandists had marked on their lists were so numerous that, seven years after their departure, the copyist had not yet finished his task.[4] Yet the Pope had, contrary to custom, relaxed in their favor one of the strictest rules of the Library, by allowing the copyist to take to his own house the manuscripts indicated by Papebroch and Henschenius before they left the city.

The Pope saw to it that on this point his wishes should be thoroughly understood and carried out more fully than had been the case in other circumstances. Instead of the devoted assistance promised to the collaborators by the Prefect Holstenius, his successor, Allatius, seemed to delight in creating vexations.[5] Under pretext of not dis-

[4] *Acta SS.* Iun. vol. III, p. 808.

[5] Bollandus had a presentiment of the difficulties his collaborators would encounter in Rome, once Holstenius was no longer there, and with this thought in mind had hastened their departure. He wrote on September 5, 1660, to Nicholas Heinsius: "Obtinui igitur ab admodum reverendo patre Generali nostro, ut P. Henschenio cum alio comite venire illuc liceret. Idque eo celerius fieri volui, quod D. Lucae Holstenii saepius iam gravi morbo tentata valetudo sit, cuius tamen favore, dum licet, utendum, ne quis ei submorosus ac difficilis in praefecturam bibliothecae Vaticanae succedat." P. Burman, *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum*, vol. II, p. 785.

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obeying the instructions of the Sovereign Pontiff, he refused to give them the manuscripts and books they required. Papebroch wished to continue his study of the Greek *Synaxaries* and to examine those that were at the Vatican. But his plan met with the following obstacle: "The present Prefect of the library, Allatius," he writes, "who was ordered to let us examine all the Greek and Latin books relating to the Lives of the saints, hesitated to show us those which did not contain *complete* lives."[6] He refused, therefore, to allow access to the *Synaxaries* on the absurd pretext that they contained only abridged Lives. The companions of Bollandus were moreover not permitted to copy the little book of Arca on the saints of Sardinia, the reason given being that it was printed and the Pope's permit applied only to manuscripts. "Such is man," added Papebroch, "carrying to the point of absurdity scrupulousness in the interpretation of orders received."[7] From time to time he had to make up his mind to trouble the Pope, and to send him a petition asking a reason for the so-called conscientiousness of his Librarian.

[6] *Acta SS.* Iun, vol. III, p. 808.

[7] Henschenius wrote also to Bollandus about this troublesome person: *Quanta fastidia devoranda et adhuc silendum, quia magis nocere potest.* Letter of December 3, 1661, MS. quoted above, fol. 74.

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When [illegible] he would displease [illegible] in the way of [illegible]; he [illegible] his [illegible] and [illegible] to give them several [illegible] he had himself translated from Greek into Latin. Later Papebroch, when obliged to [illegible] his [illegible] tion, [illegible] the [illegible] com[illegible] of [illegible] made him [illegible] his [illegible] and he [illegible] his sentence in which he gives to the distinguished scholar the homage which is his due: "[illegible]."*

Our travellers did not neglect to visit Grotta-ferrata and Monte Cassino, and from there they went to Naples and returned again to Rome. They finally left the Eternal City on October 3, [illegible], and passing through Viterbo and Siena on their way arrived at Florence where they found enough to occupy them for four whole months. There was more of a literary atmosphere in that city than at Rome, and through the kind inter-

* Act. SS. Mart. vol. III, p. [illegible]. In a letter of the month of August [illegible] to Bollandus, Henschenius refers again to these difficulties: "[illegible] S. Leo is [illegible]." [illegible]

vention of Magliabechi and Andrea Cavalcanti they were promised assistance in this work, which they readily accepted. As copyists were wanting, they did not hesitate to apply themselves to the task, and the incredible activity of Papebroch made up for every inconvenience.

Amongst the treasures of the Laurentian Library was a Greek menology for the second half of May, which solved many difficulties in the other collections. Unfortunately it consisted of only one volume, and the others necessary to complete it were missing. The problem was how to locate them. Papebroch thought that they were perhaps in the keeping of the Basilians at Messina, so he wrote at once to Bollandus for permission to sail for Sicily. Henschenius would wait for him in Florence and continue the work of copying until his return. The project did not meet with approval. The young hagiographer ought not to leave his senior and it was thought better to keep to the programme, all the more because the season was bad and pirates infested the Mediterranean. The two hagiographers continued therefore to explore Florence. They had friends at Arezzo and Pisa who offered to relieve them and they made excursions in person to Vallombrosa, Carnaldoli and La Verna on foot. From the account left by Papebroch, it is plain

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that they left Florence with much regret, for they had made many friends in the city.

The next halting places were Pistoia and Lucca. In the latter town they called on the learned F. M. Fiorentini who devoted to hagiography the hours he could spare from the practice of medicine.

Intent solely on increasing their collection of Lives of the saints, they were rather disappointed at Genoa. A still more disagreeable surprise awaited them at Milan. The Ambrosian Library opened its doors wide, but refused them the permission to do any copying. It seems that the regulations forbade it. The example, however, of the Pope and of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had set aside the rigor of the ancient statutes, made the library authorities understand how unreasonable this restriction was and they did not insist on applying it.

From Milan, they went to Novara and Vercelli and thence to Turin, where the permission given by the Duke of Savoy to take the manuscripts to the College of the Society helped their work not a little.

The Italian pilgrimage was now over. The travelers were to return to Belgium by way of France, where there was also work before them. The following is roughly the itinerary they followed: Chambery, Grenoble, Grande Char-

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treuse, Tournon, Vienne, Lyons, Macon, Cluny. At Citeaux the librarian was a Belgian, Father James de Lannoy, who placed himself entirely at the disposal of his compatriots. At Dijon, they profited much by the collections of Pierre-François Chifflet and the library of Councillor Bouhier whence they carried home a copy of the principal manuscript of the martyrology of Bede. They went afterwards to Auxerre and from there made an excursion to Pontigny where the church contained the body of Saint Edmund of Canterbury and in the library they came upon an old *legendary* which they were allowed to carry away with them to Auxerre. After halting at Sens, they at last reached Paris on August 11, 1662.

There, Father Philip Labbe acted as their guide and took them at once to see A. Wyon d'Hérouval, a great admirer of Bollandus. At the door of the College of Clermont they met Lannoy, doctor of the Sorbonne, called the *dénicheur de saints* or *saint-hunter,* a celebrated critic who proved better even than his reputation.[9]

Father Cossart and Father Vavasseur did the honors of the college library which was equally rich in printed books and manuscripts, and where memories of Sirmond still lingered. Introductions from their colleagues and powerful influ-

[9] Letter from Henschenius of August 17, 1662, manuscript quoted fol. 105.

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ence opened for them one after the other the rich collections of manuscripts which abounded in the monasteries and palaces of the capital.[10] They made on the spot the most urgent copies and left necessary directions for the copyists to finish the rest under the supervision of friends. Amongst those who rendered signal service was Father F. Combéfis, a Dominican, one of the most prolific scholars of the seventeenth century.

The travelers tarried in Paris only three months. It was not possible to prolong indefinitely an absence that had seemed already extensive enough to Bollandus who was awaiting his colleagues with impatience, and they had not yet carried out the whole programme of their journey. After visiting the library of Aymeric Bigot at Rouen, they were taken by Dom François de Pommeray to see the celebrated Norman Abbeys of Jumièges, Fontenelle and Bec. At Eu, they got together an account of the miracles of St. Laurence O'Toole of Dublin. From Abbeville they hoped to reach Amiens, whither they were attracted by the renown of the illustrious

[10] M. H. Omont has published, under the title: *Les Bollandistes et le prêt des manuscrits de Séguier en* 1662, a request of Henschenius and Papebroch, asking the chancellor the permission to borrow one of his Greek manuscripts, so that they could transcribe it at their leisure.

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Du Cange.[11] The bad condition of the roads made this plan miscarry, and they were obliged to proceed to Arras and Saint-Vaast. They were happy, at last, to find themselves, after their long and laborious pilgrimage, on the way to Antwerp whither they hastened on December 21, 1662, *ad amantissimi et desideratissimi Bollandi complexus.*

The old master's heart rejoiced over the safe return of his fellow-workers, and no less over the sight of the treasures secured at the cost of so great toil. To the quantity of material he already possessed, one thousand four hundred documents, not counting notices and extracts, were added in one mass. Besides this considerable stack of copies, many of which are still to be found in the Royal Library at Brussels and in the new library of the Bollandists, were brought together ancient manuscripts and books. The unavoidable leisure, which was forced upon the travelers during the time when libraries were closed, had been utilized by them in visiting booksellers' shops where, within the limit of the means at their disposal, they bought everything that would enable

[11] There is a letter on this subject from Papebroch to Du Cange, dated October 28, 1663, published from the manuscript at the National Library of Paris, Fonds français 9502, by E. De Barthélemy in *Le Messager des sciences historiques.* Ghent, 1872, pp. 421-22.

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them to make their collections complete. And this was only the material and visible fruit of their activity. Valuable connections had been formed, correspondents had been gained for the work in nearly all the centers of study which they had visited, and they brought back letters of introduction from nearly all the Superiors of the religious Orders, as well as, and this was certainly not to be despised, new subscriptions for the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

After the publication, in 1668, of the three volumes of March, Henschenius and Papebroch undertook a second journey with a view to future researches and partly, also, to benefit their health. They started on foot for the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, their sole baggage being their breviary and the alphabetical list, already mentioned. Only a portion of the account of this expedition has been found.[12] A serious accident occurred to Henschenius which kept him for a week at Luxembourg. It was there that Papebroch first conceived the idea for the essay on *diplomatic* criticism of which we have spoken above.

These scientific expeditions, which the Bollan-

[12] Van Spilbeeck in *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, vol. V, pp. 337-348.

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dists[18] seem to have been the first to organize, gave such tangible results that they inevitably became part of the normal progress of the work. The tradition was thus established, and with the exception of the generation which saw the suppression of the Jesuits, nearly all the Bollandists in turn took up the pilgrim's staff. Less details are preserved about the latter journeys, but traces of them are easily recognizable in the successive volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* and in the collections of copies and notes preserved to the present day.

When Janninck was sent to Rome in 1681 to finish his studies, he set off furnished with ample instructions drawn up by Papebroch. His route through France and Italy was mapped out for him with instructions as to certain researches to be undertaken, information to be gathered and copies to be made. The third year of probation, which Janninck passed at Florence after his four years of theology, is for Jesuits a period of strict seclusion. But it was considered that its calm would not be disturbed by work devoted to the service of the saints. He was therefore permitted to visit the libraries of the city. Magliabecchi who saw once more in Janninck his old friends Henschenius and Papebroch in revived

[18] *Iter italicum* of Mabillon and Germain, published in 1667, goes back to the years 1685 and 1686.

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[illegible] positively [illegible] assistance. [illegible] Florence, the [illegible] Bollandist to make [illegible] Naples. He fulfilled his mission [illegible], going everywhere, [illegible] accumulating all sorts of documents, and returned with laden hands to his master, Papebroch. Like his predecessors, he was able to make valuable friends, and amongst the most constant of his correspondents may be mentioned Notts, Schelstraete, and Muratori.

In 1[illegible] an expedition through Germany was organized and entrusted to Jannock who was accompanied by Father Baert. They set off for Cologne, where they were commissioned to present the Archbishop with volume VII of the month of May. At Aschaffenburg they had permission to examine the papers left in quantities by Father Gamans. The *Acta Sanctorum*, however, did not profit from the share they got of this inheritance, for it was all lost with the boat which carried it to Frankfort.

Prague was one of their principal stopping places where they had access to collections which Father Balbinus himself, the historian of Bohemia, had not been permitted to see. Braving the wretched roads and the primitive inns of the

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country, they at last reached Vienna and the Imperial Library. The list made here of documents indispensable for the continuation of the work was very lengthy, and copyists, especially Greek copyists, were not to be found. They had therefore to do the work themselves. Two months were spent in this fatiguing duty which affected the health of Father Baert. The Emperor took pity on the hagiographers, and allowed them to take to Antwerp the Greek manuscripts they required. This generosity did not stop there. Having learned from Janninck the doubtful financial situation of the undertaking, he granted them a subsidy to carry it on.

The two Bollandists also visited the great abbeys of Austria which, almost all, had preserved their libraries. Then they returned home by way of Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Lorraine.

Janninck's stay in Rome from 1697 to 1700 was brought about by necessities of another kind which will be mentioned later. But he did not return empty handed, and to the literary spoils which he succeeded in collecting during his leisure hours he added fresh financial support from the Emperor whom he had gone to visit in Vienna.

At Vienna, too, in 1715, we meet Du Sollier who accompanied the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, Thomas Philip of Alsace. He has left hardly any notes as to his visits to the libraries,

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but we know for certain that he did not lose the occasion of once more interesting the then Emperor of Austria, Charles VI, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, for anxiety was still felt as to its financial condition.

In 1721, Father Pien and Father Cuperus left Antwerp together to visit the libraries in Spain. The journey took eight months. One of the results of their researches among the manuscripts of the Peninsula was the treatise by Father Pien: *De liturgia Mozarabica*, inserted at the beginning of Volume VI of July.

In 1731, Stilting, in his turn accompanied by Suyskens, started for France, Italy, Germany and Hungary and brought back materials which furnished additional matter to several volumes of the series. In Rome, Pope Benedict XIV showed him marked favor, gave him several audiences and wished to assume the expenses of copying. When Stilting was going through Vienna, he tried to obtain the help of the Empress Maria Theresa in the difficult crisis which then threatened.

Necessarily infrequent, owing to the exigencies of working up the materials acquired and of printing the volumes and owing also to conditions of living at this period, these journeys were never sufficient to provide the hagiographers with all the documents needed for the subjects they had to treat. Certain territories, such as England

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and the Scandinavian countries, were closed to them;[14] and, even where they were free to travel, it would have been impossible to reach every spot where documents might be found or any traces of a cult discovered. Even when the travelers made a prolonged sojourn in any one place they could never hope to exhaust the material. And still less were they able, when an important manuscript was pointed out or some monument brought to light, to hasten to the spot, study it and turn it to account. Correspondence was the means by which inevitable gaps were filled up, and, as the plan included hagiography for the whole world, it was necessary to engage in every country correspondents capable of sending information about local history and of searching libraries and archives according to the instructions received.

In all the provinces of the Society of Jesus, the Bollandists were sure of finding helpers. There was scarcely one which did not possess some scholar enthusiastic for the antiquities of the country and skilled in deciphering old manuscripts or well enough known in high circles that he could help his colleagues in Antwerp by giving

[14] The learned and lamented Edmund Bishop wrote in this connection in the *Dublin Review* (January, 1885), p. 152: "It must have been often a subject for regret with English scholars, that, if penal laws there must be, they could not at least be suspended in favour of the Mabillons and the Papebrochs."

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them useful introductions. Without such assistance the work would never have been able to continue.

In reality, the Bollandists needed no other introduction to the great scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, than their own writings which were familiar to every one of them. It is plain that with the progress of the series, their scientific reputation steadily increased. In what remains to us of their immense correspondence, there is indeed no illustrious name in the history of learning not represented by some letter or by some useful contribution.

It is true that the letters of the Bollandists are not always mere requests for information. They were in their turn consulted from all sides as to matters on which they ranked as specialists and, unfortunately, on many other topics. Correspondence took up a great part of their time; among Du Sollier's papers alone was found mention of twelve thousand letters despatched in this daily correspondence, and there is no doubt that letter-writing was a torment to the early Bollandists, a fact their successors can well understand. But that was only one aspect of the case. On the other hand, a letter sent by the hagiographers to the proper quarter brought back to them information they could not otherwise have obtained, for they lived in an age when local reviews, which

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now put within our reach traditions gathered from the most remote regions, did not exist, and where short inventories of archives or manuscripts contained in libraries were almost unknown. The replies which came from all directions, whether letters or other script, helped to increase the documentation on the saints preserved in the "Bollandist Museum."

The "Bollandist Museum" was, in the language of those days, the library, or it may be called the laboratory, where were stored all the materials collected during a journey, or brought thither by the post. Portfolios, in which each day of the year had its place, were prepared for copies and notes, and on the shelves were ranged catalogues, manuscripts and books. Purchases, gifts, exchanges and the work of the hagiographers themselves combined to form a unique whole, a collection all the more valuable because the entire mass of it related to one definite specialty. The library, of which the books chosen by Rosweyde formed the nucleus, had increased rapidly. Already in 1668, Papebroch could write that, according to the testimony of visitors who had seen the principal libraries of Europe, there was nothing to compare with it in the number of books and rarities which it contained. As regards the printed Lives of saints and monographs on sanctuaries, the Bollandist Museum surpassed the two collections

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that were richest in this class of works, and which had been systematically formed at the cost of a lavish outlay of money: the Barberini at Rome, and the Mazarin at Paris. The books were classified as follows: general history, special history and memorials of dioceses, towns, and monasteries. Lives of saints in every language, ancient and modern breviaries, and manuscripts.

How complete the equipment was for the period is attested in every page of the *Acta Sanctorum*. Seldom can fault be found with the learning of the early Bollandists, nor can they often be reproached with ignorance as to the existence of a work of any interest, incident to the subject on which they write. If it so happened that an important book refused to yield to the quest of booksellers, they did not hesitate about having it copied.

Installed in a well-ordered workshop and with an abundance of material close at hand, such excellent scholars as were the collaborators of Bollandus could not but acquit themselves with credit in their stupendous enterprise.

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CHAPTER IV

THE PROCESS OF ELABORATION

The *Acta Sanctorum* is constructed as a series of three hundred and sixty-five units corresponding to the dates of the calendar, each one divided into a series of monographs devoted to the saints honored on each respective day. At the outset of the work, publication was deferred until every day in the month was finished and it is for this reason that the months of January, February, March, and April were published in complete form. From May onward, the editors never delayed the date of going to press until the end of the month had been reached.

For every day in the year the Bollandists were obliged to execute a twofold preliminary work; they had first to make out the list of saints to be treated, and secondly to draw up a scheme of monographs or commentaries.

As every saint of the Christian world is entitled to a place in the series, it was necessary to determine in the case of each date what saints were venerated by the universal Church, by particular churches or by any religious community soever. This work entailed making extracts, in

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[illegible] order, from martyrologies, calendars, chronicles, menologies of religious orders, and in general, from every hagiographical collection.

When the lists had been drawn up in this manner, more than one embarrassing problem made its appearance. The same names recurred at different dates, sometimes because the saints had several festivals, sometimes because the various martyrologies did not agree. Further, certain names apparently had no claim to figure at any date whatever amongst the saints. The compilers of the martyrologies and the copyists had made many mistakes and blunders, and had included personages who have never been the object of any cult. Sometimes they have blended together necrology and calendar and have set the faithful departed and the saints on the same footing. In certain enumerations, were to be found even the names of the consuls of the year, mingled with names of martyrs, distorted topographical rubrics taking the place of the group that they stand for or vice-versa. Elsewhere it is plain that too zealous annalists had complacently become the echoes of some unjustifiable pretension and gave the title of saint to those who had no right to it at all. The only concern of the *Acta Sanctorum* with these intruders was to exclude them. It was thus necessary to make a most minute examination of the data and to fix definitely the list of

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saints whose Acts it was necessary to study; if, during this compilation work, one of them happened to be mentioned at different dates, it was necessary to choose the most authentic date or the one which merited preference.

Bollandus understood that it would not be enough to content himself with a choice which might seem arbitrary, and that for a scientific work it was indispensable to indicate the procedure of the critical study which had resulted in the elimination of superfluous elements. The means employed for this end consisted in placing a double list before each day. The first for example was styled: *Sancti qui pridie nonas ianuarias coluntur.* These were the saints whose Acts followed. The second was called: *Praetermissi aut in alias dies relati.* In the latter the critic examined the data of the martyrologies and other analogous sources, not utilized in the preceding list and discussed the reasons for accepting or rejecting certain names, and decided for their exclusion pure and simple or for their transfer to another day in the calendar.

This part of the *Acta Sanctorum* ought not to be neglected. It is extremely important and, ever since the first volumes, has been constantly developed. A great quantity of research is condensed in these short notices which, often better than regular dissertations, throw light on the ob-

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scure text of martyrologies and correct historical errors long perpetuated by uncritical compilations. It is here, too, that mention is made in a few words of festivals and commemorations, which are not included in what is properly called the *Acta Sanctorum*, but the existence of which it is useful to notice, such as festivals of sanctuaries, pilgrimages and notable arrivals of relics.

From a practical standpoint, this list embodied an ingenious system which obviated, on occasions, delays in publication without disturbing the plan of the work. It was possible, for example, that, at the time when a saint's Life should have been written, the necessary documents were not forthcoming. This saint could then be mentioned in the list of *praetermissi* and transferred to a later date.

When the work of elimination had been finished, it was necessary to work up the materials which constituted the documentation of each of the saints who had been retained.

These were of two kinds. One set referred to the history of the saint: his passion and biography, and, in a word, his Acts. The other was concerned with that never-ending Life, given to each saint by Christian veneration from age to age. It was grouped under the impressive title: *Gloria postuma*.

A complete commentary began thus with the

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Acts of the saint: texts, prolegomena, and explanations.

The simplest case was that of a single text, but this was far from being usual. Many saints had been eulogized by more than one biographer, and often also the same biography had passed through the hands of more than one editor. The question presented itself as to whether all these texts should be published or a selection of them be made. The problem was a delicate one. No hesitation was possible when it was a matter of independent accounts. But perplexing cases occurred, in which it was difficult to distinguish whether there was any doubt as to the testimony of separate witnesses or of identical testimony repeated in different terms. Instances arose also where it could be clearly shown that documents, which at first appeared diverse really originated from one and the same source. In such examples the fault of prolixity could not be avoided for the reason that analysis could not with advantage replace the original text.

Such a problem often came up, and the solution attempted differed according to the period and the special point of view taken by the hagiographer. Judged from the historical standpoint alone, many suppressions could in their case easily be justified. Literary interests, on the contrary, demand the multiplication of texts and

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it cannot be denied that the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*, in which this principle has been acted upon most fully, are those which may render the greatest service. This has always been the practice of Bollandus and Henschenius, and Papebroch followed still more resolutely in the same path. After their day, a more exclusive historical tendency began to appear, to the detriment of a class of readers which increases constantly in proportion to the advance made by the study of literary history.

Another source of doubt had to do with the Acts which were evidently apocryphal. Some of them were nothing but a simple tissue of absurdities wherein it would be vain to seek for any historical element. There could be no use in publishing these, for they would bring neither honor to the saints nor profit to men. Moreover, it would surely have created a scandal if such documents had appeared amongst the Acts of the Saints. At that period scruples of this nature had to be reckoned with and when Pope Alexander VII reproached Allatius for his treatment of the Bollandists, the latter made the identical plea that to allow them to copy everything indiscriminately would be to risk the introduction of many fables into the *Acta Sanctorum*.[1] On the other

[1] The objections made by Bellarmin to Rosweyde's project may be recalled (Chapter I). The learned Cardinal stated that many hagiographical texts seemed to

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hand, the Bollandists felt that by excluding material so richly represented in hagiography they would give a false impression of this literature. For this reason, therefore, they admitted, from the first, into the series Acts which they stamped as apocryphal, and even as *insulse fabulosa.*

The Bollandists were blamed, no doubt, for this decision since we sometimes see them hesitate as to certain documents which seem to challenge common sense. Papebroch copied in Florence, the Acts of Saint Meletius and his companions. When they reached May 24, the date of the feast, the Bollandists did not venture to place his Acts amongst the saints of that day "for fear of offending the weaker brethren, and after long deliberation, they decided to relegate them to an appendix.[2]

This decision was doubtless due to the advice of Papebroch. It was his opinion that nothing should be omitted which might instruct the reader, and the wisdom of this advice was proved more than once by the results. These very Acts of Saint Meletius, albeit a disgrace to hagiography, are, in fact the only memorial left to us of the cult of the martyrs of Tavium in Galatia.[3]

him less calculated to edify the reader than to turn religion into ridicule.

[2] *Acta SS.*, Maii, vol. V, p. 436.

[3] We have treated this subject in a work on the

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After Papebroch, the editors failed only too often to preserve the breadth of mind he showed in this matter as in so many others. Nevertheless, it was no longer an anxiety for edification which prompted this increased severity, but a too exclusive desire to give first place to historical matter. In this way, documents of much interest have been suppressed; for example, the Acts of Ensignius on August 5, the Acts of Checla, and the Books of Basil of Selencia, on September 24.

This was, in the main, a dangerous tendency. The editors were obliged to publish certain Acts the general tone of which did not excite any real suspicion but of which the historical accuracy was no greater than that of the most fantastic compositions. To admit one and exclude another was to expose the reader to the risk of fraud, and to assign to worthless compilations a niche which they by no means deserved. The rule laid down by Papebroch was far better, viz.: not to make any distinction between the texts, but to explain clearly in the introduction what consideration was due to each.

Another method of selection was called for in the case of modern saints. In theory they could demand the same treatment as older saints. An

Martyrs of Tarsus, the publication of which has been delayed by circumstances.

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accepted rule, however, maintained within just proportions commentaries which would otherwise have exceeded all limits owing to the great number and the length of the extant documents. This restriction justified itself. The Acts of modern saints are easy of access and are to be found, for the most part, in books within the reach of everybody, nor do they cause the same difficulties as do the memorials of antiquity and the Middle Ages. That a privileged place has been given to some saints of the Society, such as St. Aloysius and St. Ignatius, can be easily understood and allowed for, but it is impossible to apply the same standard to saints recently canonized in due form, and of whom the cult has been regularly established almost under our own eyes. In the following account we shall not deal with modern hagiography and the texts that we shall mention are those to be found in old manuscripts.

In the publication of texts the early Bollandists followed the method of their day, being, as a rule, obliged to do so because of the dispersion of the manuscripts and the difficulty of getting at them. Since it was impossible to obtain all the manuscripts of a work, they confined themselves to those within reach. The best of these was taken as the basic text and was corrected by collation with the others, or else, at times by ingenious conjecture. The impracticability of assembling be-

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forehand all the MSS. of a given document and classifying them was all the more evident from what they soon came to recognize as the special conditions in which hagiographical documents have been handed down. Copies of these documents are very numerous and their relation to one another difficult to determine. In fact they may be said to be revisions rather than mere transcriptions. The science of textual criticism was in its infancy at the time, and was certain to break down when faced with problems which, even in our day, after all the progress that has been made, seen insoluble. Some tentative efforts were made here and there to collate a set of MSS. with a view to establishing a resultant text. The only effect was a patchwork of texts instead of the original which had been the object of the collation. As a rule the editors kept to what was at that time the wisest course, and may perhaps be still so in our day in the case of so many Passions of the martyrs. This was to reproduce the text of one authentic MS. and to record the variant readings of the others. Editors, in that early period, did not concern themselves with a cumbersome display of variants. These were considered useless and such they were in most cases. Only the most important were preserved, and in the selections made we can recognize the working of judicious and practical minds.

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To appreciate the texts published in the old series of the *Acta Sanctorum,* we must bear in mind the conditions imposed on the work by circumstances, and also the quality of the documents in question. Those which have escaped retouching can benefit much by being subjected to the more critical methods of the present day. But there is a large number of traditional narratives which refuse to yield to such criticism, and though the collation of a long series of MSS. and of variant readings is never entirely futile, still this sort of work has often no appreciable result in contributing towards the reconstruction of the original text, the only goal which is of consequence.

The publication of texts was only a portion of the task undertaken by Bollandus and his collaborators. They also determined to give a complete exegesis of the texts they published and this they divided into two parts: the *prolegomena* or *Commentarius praevius* and the annotations. The questions discussed were first of all those that concerned literary history, the sources, the author, the period, the history of the document, and the class to which it belonged. Then followed the interpretation of obscure passages, the elucidation of difficult points of language, geography, or history. To explain the full meaning of a text, it was often necessary to make a full and careful

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study of the conditions under which it was composed, and as, in the majority of cases, the early Bollandists broached subjects that were entirely new, they were frequently led far afield in their quest for everything that could by any chance elucidate or complete the principal source. In all this there was a limit not to be exceeded and a danger to be kept clear of. It was not always avoided and it is to be regretted that in certain articles, which moreover cost their authors considerable labor, the texts are, so to speak, flooded out by the commentary.

Papebroch has left us in the life of Bollandus an interesting statement of the ideas which all were agreed must govern the programme to be followed. The imposing plan of the *Annals* of Baronius had impressed the imagination of the period, and it was usual to consider *Annals* as the established form of historical research. This is the reason why Papebroch draws a parallel between his master's work and that of the celebrated annalist for whom he professes the sincerest admiration; but he had no trouble making clear that scientific hagiography as it had been constituted by the Bollandists required a much more considerable effort.

"Bollandus and his successors," he writes, "have made it a fixed rule that they will never quote any evidence which they had not themselves

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read and criticised. They believe it to be their duty to explain their views as to the date, the degree of veracity and the circumspection of the witnesses on whose evidence they base their opinion. They wish to leave undiscussed nothing which may help to make the saint better known. No locality is considered too obscure, no people too insignificant, no country too remote, once it has been marked by the cult of a saint. There is no word so barbarous that they will not try to elucidate it, as far as human industry can hope to succeed in such a task, by consulting books and manuscripts, by having recourse to correspondence, by depending upon the kindness of friends who have been found in almost every country. They are not so much concerned with the general history of the Church and of the principal countries of the world, although here much still remains to be done. Their object above all is to throw light on the origin and growth of dioceses, towns, monasteries and religious orders. No one should imagine that the obligation they have assumed of reproducing the Acts of the saints in the original has lightened their burden. It has involved upon them, on the contrary, additional study and work, obliged as they are to collate in detail several manuscripts and often also to write numerous letters in order to elucidate some doubtful passage. Moreover, in their

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system there is no place for skilful reticence or for oversight which is frequently possible for a historian, who need not give the exact text, but only the general sense of what others have written, and this too in his own style. Besides, the original Acts themselves make up but a small part of the entire corpus. If it were not for the commentaries, annotations, notices as to saints whose Lives are no longer extant, or were never written and, which must therefore be drawn from several sources, there would scarcely be material enough to fill a single volume."[4]

Reference is made in these last lines to a class of commentaries independent of any Passion or Life of ancient times, in which the Bollandists tried to reconstruct the story of a saint by means of testimony scattered in chronicles and other contemporary sources. Sometimes, these were short notices to which they gave the name: *Sylloge*. In these, the only result of long research has been to gather together a sheaf of stray facts which are all that remains of the tradition. But beginning with the volumes of September, long commentaries become increasingly frequent, in which the gleanings increased to the proportions of an abundant harvest. Certain personages of the Old Testament who have strayed by chance into our calendars have thus been made

[4] *Acta SS.*, Martii, vol. I, p. xx.

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the object of lengthy dissertations, very conscientiously worked up, although possessing the character of a digression. What student of the Old Testament, in quest of information as to the history of Moses, Joshua, Gideon, or the greater or lesser prophets, would ever think of consulting the *Acta Sanctorum?* The question of an established cult, the only one with which the hagiographers had in reality to do, could often be disposed of in a single page.

Some of the saints of the New Dispensation have been treated according to much the same plan. Saint Jerome, for example, whose own works form the basis of the commentary may be cited here. The immense and learned commentary on Saint John Chrysostom, which, like the one just mentioned, is by Stilting and which presupposes a rare knowledge of the works of this saint, may be placed in the same category, inasmuch as the panegyric by Saint John Damascene, which figures in it, is after all a luxury one would gladly do without if the author had given us (as would have been done by Papebroch and his contemporaries), the dialogues of Palladius and the other important Greek texts which though not themselves of great historical value, deserve some notice from the literary point of view. A similar criticism may be passed on the important article *De S. Michaele et omnibus angelis,* under Sep-

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[illegible]. The text of the Miracle of Chonae, is not, it is true, omitted, but one would expect to see it followed by another more important text, the Book of the Miracles of Saint Michael, by Pantaleon, deacon and guardian of manuscripts of the Great Church of Constantinople. The latter failed to win the approval of a rigid critical test and the gradual result of this tendency was to assimilate saints whose Acts are no longer extant with those whose praises have been told only by the hagiographers, and not by authentic witnesses of their lives.

Side by side with the *Syllogae*, whether short or long, in which the data of research are condensed either into several chapters or into some few paragraphs, are to be found a series of notes which can be easily recognized, for they consist of only a few lines wherein it is stated that the saints in question are mentioned in the martyrology of Saint Jerome. Not a day in the year that does not include some such list of martyrs borrowed from this compilation. All that is done is to register them with the comment that there is here a group about which no further information can be given.

The admission of saints or of groups originating from this source, leads us to suppose that the Bollandists assumed their existence as proved, and that their insertion in the above mentioned

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martyrology seemed to them sufficient warrant of the existence of a cult. They had, in fact, realized from the first the importance of the compilation known as the martyrology of Saint Jerome. Rosweyde thought it so important, that in view of the difficulty created by the state in which the manuscripts of this document had been handed down, he undertook to have reproduced a facsimile of the best text, our manuscript E. It is the earliest known work of the kind and this initiative does great honor to the critical sense of the precursor of Bollandus.[5] But this aid, valuable as it was, was not enough either to establish the text of the martyrology or to determine its sources. The *Hieronymian* remained a closed book until 1866, when Wright published the Syrian martyrology written in 411, which represents for us the oriental martyrology, or rather did so until the day when Father Victor De Buck discovered that the oriental martyrology was one of the sources of the Hieronymian compilation.[6] This fortunate discovery gave the first impulse to the critical study of the document, and it thus became at last possible to form an opinion as to its true value and utility.

[5] M. Rooses, *The earliest fac-simile of a manuscript,* in the *Bulletin de l'Académie d'archéologie de Belgique.* 1881, pp. 295-315.

[6] See Chapter VII, *infra.*

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It is not known that the text which has come down to us in a state of indescribable confusion ought only to be employed with the greatest circumspection and that to read it without the help of the most powerful texts of criticism is to expose oneself a hundred times over to the risk of mistaking Piraeus for a man, and that the ancient historical martyrologies which sometimes afford us the means of establishing an isolated reading are fallacious guides in the study of its sources. All this was unknown in early times, and nobody will be surprised to learn that most of the short accounts devoted in the early series to comments on a few Lives of the *Hieronymian* would need to be revised, if not replaced, and that the modern Bollandists regard it as their duty to examine anew this portion of the work which necessarily baffled the perspicacity of their predecessors.

The *Gloria posthuma* forms an integral part of the complete commentary. When a saint's popularity persists through several centuries and spreads to a great number of churches, the list of documents in which traces of it can be found is necessarily very great. Fresh additions are made every century and the history of the cult of certain saints is important enough to fill a large volume.

First comes the history of the festival, pre-

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served in martyrologies, liturgical works, literature, art and popular tradition. Then follows the history of the relics of the saint, their deposition or translation, frequently too their dispersion either by impious or by pious hands, both, as a matter of fact, equally fatal to their preservation. The sanctuary to which the cult of the saint was at first confined and whence it later was diffused far and wide, must also become the object of the hagiographer's attention, for his task is to give an account of its origin and development, its fame which is partly identical with that of the saint himself and lastly the pilgrimages made in his honor and the favors received. If the saint has founded some society or institute, the history of the growth of his work belong also to his posthumous glory.

Amongst the ancient texts connected with these various subjects, the most important are the accounts of translations of the relics and the collections of miracles. These are often of paramount interest for general history, giving as they do an idea of the manners and customs of a nation or epoch. For this reason there is no cause to regret the place held by documents of this kind in the *Acta Sanctorum*. The same is true of the medieval processes of canonization. These records are often unduly prolix, but one is amply repaid for the trouble taken in editing

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and in reading them by the results gained for religious and secular history. Mention may be also made of letters of indulgences and official reports on the authenticity of relics, and, in another sphere, of offices, hymns and inscriptions. These memorials of a cult form such a considerable and, it must be admitted, cumbersome mass, that it is plainly impossible to publish all the texts bearing on every manifestation of the cult of a saint. A selection has to be made, indicated by the relative importance of the documents and by their subject matter, but those which are published must be treated with the same scrutiny as the biographical texts. All others are merely analyzed or placed on record.

After the suppression of the Society of Jesus, when the Bollandists were transferred to Brussels in 1778, Councillor de Külberg obtained some information from the last survivors as to the organization of the work. In a report which he made to the Prince of Starhemberg, some interesting details are given. The following remarks will be read with interest, for they complete what we already know as to the method pursued in the elaboration of the commentaries. The text is as follows:[1]

[1] In the papers preserved in the General Archives of the Kingdom, *Conseil privé*, 742, 743. We make use of the copy preserved in the Royal Library of Brussels, manuscript 17674, fol. 31-43.

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"The hagiographers when preparing to treat of a particular day in the month, used to meet in conference and draw up a list compiled from all the known martyrologies of every saint honored by the Church on that day. They then deliberated on the saints of the day to be dealt with and those that were to be omitted, either because they had already been written upon or because there were reasons for keeping them in abeyance, or, indeed, for not taking them up at all, and an explanation was given in the work of the reasons which had determined the choice of one or other of these alternatives. When this was done, they came to an agreement as to the share each one should have in the work, and each hagiographer took on himself the duty of writing about a particular saint.[8] It is a good thing to know that the Life of a saint is repeated as often in the *Acta Sanctorum,* under the date of the day of his death, as it has been found to have been written by authors known or unknown, either in manuscript or printed matter, and the discoveries made in this respect by the hagiographers are amazing. All the Lives of the same saint inserted one after the other in the corpus, become the subject of observations, discussions,

[8] The copy, here and further on, has *historiographe.* This is an oversight, for the latter word has a very precise meaning in Külberg's report, as will be seen later.

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and criticism by the hagiographers, who, it is universally admitted, have always excelled in this kind of work. The same tribute has been paid them with great vigor by the most celebrated writers, even those who certainly cannot be accused of partiality towards them.

"It is in this manner that each Life of a saint is corrected in accordance with fact and established by proofs which have been tested in the light of a sane and judicious discussion and criticism from which the slightest traces of triviality, weakness, superstitious fanaticism and partisanship have been thoroughly eliminated.

"When a hagiographer, imbued with this spirit and guided by these principles and methods, was in possession of the Life, or one of the Lives of the saint he had been entrusted with, he had it printed on four-leaf brochures of eight pages each.

"A copy was printed off and sent to the author for correction. When these corrections had been made by the printer, the proofs were returned to the author. It was only at this stage that the hagiographer submitted his work to each of his colleagues, in order of seniority. It was examined by each one in turn and they made notes on it. Then all met together and discussed the emendations, if any, to be made. In case the opinions were equally divided the decision rested

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with the author, who having studied the subject, was the best qualified to pass judgment upon it.

"This first printed copy having thus been seen by the collaborators, was given back, corrected or otherwise, to the printer, who made a third copy which was revised once more by the author, and then eight hundred copies were printed."[9]

The application of the methods inaugurated by Bollandus and perfected by Henschenius and Papebroch created difficulties which were at first vaguely suspected, but which soon were felt in all their gravity. Some were due to the plan adopted, others to the standard of learning and the literary customs of the period.

It cannot be denied that the somewhat artificial order of the calendar, which they had decided to follow, involved great disadvantages. Saints who had lived as contemporaries and had been bound together by the closest ties of intimacy, so that their lives constantly showed points of contact, were separated for no reason save the chance date of their anniversary. Saint Augustine had to be dealt with on August 29, Saint Jerome on September 30, Saint Ambrose on December 7. And there was the same parceling out of saints who belonged to one group and were united by a bond of history, for example, such as bishops of the same diocese or the illustrious

[9] Manuscript 17674, fol. 34-35.

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men of one and the same monastery. Each time that one of them appeared in the calendar, the same questions had to be gone over, and as one generation of collaborators succeeded another, the work had constantly to be done over again, under new conditions and often in a different spirit.

Nor should the following consideration be lost sight of. On certain questions it was only possible to arrive at a well-defined and logical conclusion after a study of the texts as a whole and a grouping together of all analogies. There can be no hesitation, for instance, in declaring against the claims of certain churches to apostolic origins when it is clear that all are liable to the same suspicions and that their legends form part of a cycle, whereas an isolated case has a more plausible justification. The casual assembling under the same date of saints belonging to every epoch, involves moreover a considerable waste of energy. The list of each day began with martyrs of the Roman persecutions and ended with saints of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, thus compelling the collaborators to traverse all the different periods of ecclesiastical history.

We make bold to venture the opinion that although it is plain that a combination of topography and chronology forms the simplest and most logical principle for historical work, it is not

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certain that the Bollandist founders were at all mistaken in selecting the order of the calendar. For a time, it is said, Rosweyde thought of breaking with this method. He came back to it, however, as if by instinct, and Bollandus, who was allowed full scope in his principle of work, seems to have had no hesitation about the matter.

We must not suppose that working conditions at the beginning of the enterprise were identical with those which obtain for us today. The *Acta Sanctorum*, completed as they are to a great extent, give us a clear field in which to move at our ease; but before the advent of Bollandus, hagiographical literature presented a spectacle of inextricable confusion. If there were any homogeneity in this literature, if it were composed exclusively of historical documents easily dated and derived from sources that could be clearly determined, then the idea of classification according to the order of time or according to countries would at once suggest itself, and such an arrangement would have brought with it no serious difficulty of execution. But in the mass of texts to be investigated, there was an endless variety and the grades in the historical scale were legion, ranging from an authentic official report and the statement of an eye-witness to an anonymous legend, and all was uncertain as to the origin, the value and even the meaning of many doc-

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numerous. Moreover, a host of problems thus required solution at the same time and it was not possible to attack them all in a satisfactory manner.

An example in point will help the reader to better appreciate the obstacle which then lay in the hagiographer's path. If there be a subject that is homogeneous and clearly defined, it is to be found in the *Acta sincera* of Ruinart, whose intention it was to collect in one volume the historical Acts of the martyrs belonging to the first centuries, arranged in chronological order. The collection was published in 1689, when the *Acta Sanctorum*, much used by Ruinart, already numbered nineteen volumes. It was certainly an excellent piece of work, but it is obvious that the book corresponds only in part to Ruinart's programme, for it includes a great number of Passions that have no documentary value and have therefore no right to figure in a collection of *Acta sincera*. The number of historical Passions has been much reduced, since it has become possible to study them in detail with a minuteness not attainable by the pioneers in this field.

The same may be said of another collection, the scope of which is very definitely limited as to time and place. The plan of the *Vitae sanctorum Siculorum* of Father Gaëtani, dating from 1657, is assuredly a constructive one, but, in spite of the

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scientific apparatus with which it is furnished, the work is a failure and abounds in serious mistakes. Even though the author had possessed a more unerring critical acumen, he would hardly have secured better results, because at the moment when he composed his selection, works of this sort were premature and only a long familiarity with hagiographical texts of all sorts could have aided him to estimate justly all the widely different documents brought together under the same classification.

In order to create the new branch of ecclesiastical science, now known as critical hagiography, it was necessary to go over the ground and make a methodical search for texts, and in order to effect this it was indispensable to take as criterion the manuscript tradition. Now, this tradition depended wholly on the order of the calendar as well as on martyrologies, and also on passionaries, lectionaries, synaxaries, menologies of religious orders and collections for private reading all the way from the Golden Legend to the Legendary of Hilarion of Milan. The only guide through this densely overgrown literature was the liturgical dates. Nor would it be wise to dispense with this guiding thread and engage in a work demanding so much cooperation of all kinds, for which one could not always count on the assistance of specialists.

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Further even though it had been decided to throw the light of history on all the texts, the hagiographical point of view could obviously not be neglected. But there was great danger that it would have been sacrificed had the editors made themselves independent of the hagiographical element, *par excellence*, namely: the day of the feast. And it is correct to state that the order of dates is an artificial one, as would be, for instance, the alphabetical order of names. The date has never been arbitrarily chosen. In general, it is that of the day of the saint's death, or at least, one fixed by long usage.

Everything seemed thus to invite Bollandus and his first successors not to turn aside from the traditional path. Had they abandoned it, they would have left indefinitely unexplored many obscure corners of hagiography into which light has penetrated, thanks to the system which has been adopted.

In order to start the new enterprise, it was essential not to attempt too much at a time. If today, at the point to which the work has now reached, the course prescribed by the original plan weighs as a heavy burden on the collaborators, who are too keenly conscious of its disadvantages, they remind one another that what would now appear desirable and also feasible, would probably never have become so but for the

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vigorous impulse imparted to the work by the simplicity of the general plan.

The Bollandists, were, from a very early date, anxious to overcome the disadvantages of the scheme which they had adopted. After 1658, they brought out a series of short indices wherein the subjects of the published volumes were divided according to geographical order. In this way they produced a *Brevis notitia Italiae ex Actis sanctorum Ianuarii et Februarii ab Ioanne Bollando et Godefrido Henschenio S. I. excerpta digestaque per regiones.* There was a similar *notitia* for other countries, for Spain, Belgium, Germany and France. The *Breves notitiae triplicis status ecclesiastici monastici et secularis* were undertaken from a different point of view, but correspond to the same idea.

The scholars tried also to remedy as far as possible the lack of concentration on one subject by a system of general introductions published at the beginning of the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* according as they were completed, for example, the great monographs on the episcopal lists of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Milan, Constantinople, and Tongres, and the volume devoted by Papebroch to the chronological series of the Popes. In the form of an introduction to Volume I for July, Janninck published a good piece of work on the Saints of Umbria, in which he studies a whole

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cycle of legends. In order to avoid the necessity of mentioning again certain peculiarities of the Greek liturgy, the dissertation of Father Rayé on the subject was inserted at the beginning of Volume II for June. Later on, Father Pien wrote a similar dissertation on the Mozarabic liturgy.

It was often remarked by the editors that, because of the great variety of themes, preparatory works on certain subjects were lacking, and they did their best to supply what was missing in this direction. It was for this reason that Papebroch decided to write his essay on diplomatic criticism as well as his investigations as to indulgences and many other dissertations of lesser compass, which are interspersed throughout his commentaries and the *Propylaeum* of May. Today, we should resort to the journals for the publication of all such supplementary materials, but the early Bollandists had simply their folios and these offered the only possible place for certain dissertations such as that of Father Pien on the deaconesses, and that of Stilting on the conversion of the Russians. Most of these works are closely connected with hagiography and their inclusion can thus be justified. It cannot, however, be denied that they have helped to make the series unduly cumbersome.

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CHAPTER V

THE PERIOD OF ORDEAL

The exploration of an unknown land, such as hagiography was in those days, could not fail to be accompanied by many a surprise. We do not refer to those unexpected finds which await every scholar who treads a new path and who is rewarded for his labor by the joy of discovery. However, the unlooked for results with which the Bollandists were rewarded were not always of a speculative character.

For centuries past, the custom of reading the Lives of the saints had created a peculiar state of mind in the public. A heterogeneous literature, if ever there was one, in which the historical element goes side by side with the free inspirations of pious fancy, the Lives offered to the gaze of the multitude a vast panorama, as it were, of Christian life, in which the various scenes were all believed to have their counterpart in reality, and were distinctive only by the intensity of their coloring. Each scene was thought equally worthy of contemplation, the differences of shading mattered little. The faithful were thus transported to an ideal and supernatural atmosphere, which

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they were led to accept as the normal condition of Christian perfection, never suspecting that in these fascinating pictures much of the composition was often due to the artist alone. This role of art, often in exaggeration of nature, was sure to be revealed by the study of the texts and the classification of the material. If hagiography was hitherto but little known, the hagiographer was quite unknown, nor did anyone have even a faint idea as to the researches achieved by certain scholars in this field.

General ignorance prevailed in that epoch as to the manner in which the cult of the saints had developed, and the many causes which had contributed to its later forms, forms which are often strange enough and sometimes even unconsciously so, but which were held to be venerable and to be vouched for by the authority of the Church. The answer made to the doubts and hesitations of thoughtful people, was always to fall back in argument on the "vigilance of our pastors," thus taking for granted that nothing had ever become established in these matters without the knowledge of the ecclesiastical authorities, and without their formal sanction. On the other hand people refused to believe that bishops were not well informed on facts of such vital importance for the honor of the churches. The prevailing popular element in the evolution of the cult of the saints

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was thus lost from sight by men of a later period, as was also the indifference assumed during the Middle Ages by the theologians and by the guardians of orthodoxy with regard to all matters which they classed as plainly outside the domain of faith and relegated to the adjacent realm of piety where there was no restraint.

In going back to the origin of certain cults, errors were inevitably discovered, and sometimes, but less frequently, frauds were detected which had crept in because of this want of vigilance. Devotion to a saint most usually began with the possession of a relic, which, in becoming the object of veneration, made him so to speak, a living presence in his church. How the relic found a place there nobody sought to discover. Who was at that time aware that the Roman custom, the only safeguard of the authenticity of relics, had unfortunately long been abandoned, that the bodies of saints or portions of them had been transported under conditions which made all control impossible, and that strange confusion had been the inevitable result?

When, for instance, a basilica was about to be erected by some city in France or in Germany, over the body of a martyr brought from afar, no one suspected that an Italian or Eastern church claimed, and with titles in support of the fact, to have kept intact the treasure, their possession of which was being disputed.

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Certain elementary criteria or factors which had never been considered, were enough, under these conditions, to raise difficulties, the gravity of which could no longer be disguised. To question the lawfulness of the cult of a saint, or to raise doubts as to the authenticity of his relics, were issues which could not in most cases remain theoretical, but which demanded practical measures, and in the application of these more than usual tact was often required. How was it to be made clear to the faithful that the authority of the Church was not responsible for certain vagaries? How were devotions which had taken root in the heart of a people to be suppressed without causing serious disturbances? On the other hand how were they to be upheld, in the face of the conviction that they were without foundation? To admit an error was obviously to play into the hands of the heretics, who were never weary of denouncing the abuses of saint worship and the adoration of relics. Of course, the faithful have never been taught that the Lives of the saints are to be believed in in the same measure as the Gospel, but it is a fact that they incline to this belief. Hence was it not dangerous, from the standpoint of faith, to destroy certain pious illusions?

Such objections occurred inevitably to timid minds and caused doubts as to the wisdom of applying scientific principles to hagiography. It was

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thus only too natural that opposition should have been aroused in unenlightened circles, against an undertaking which was to disturb so many preconceived ideas, offend old customs, and awaken dormant responsibilities.

If this opposition did not break out at first, it was because the consequences of the critical researches were not immediately perceived. Bollandus was conscious of them, for objections had arisen already before Rosweyde's scheme had been submitted to the approval of his superiors; but they only confirmed him in his plans, and convinced him more than ever of the great necessity for beginning the work. Nevertheless, he felt that, without any sacrifice of truth, caution must be observed when stating certain results, over which the general public might be upset, but which intelligent readers ought to be able to understand. It was to the latter he had to appeal, placing before them opinions substantiated by proofs.

When the initial stages of procedure were considered sufficiently complete, delicate problems were faced more resolutely, yet with the reserve imposed by the then existing state of mind. Moderation in expression, discreetly veiling the harshness of certain conclusions, has generally been observed by the collaborators of Bollandus and by their successors, even in the days of their greatest

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audacity—if it may be permitted to use this word anent unbiased research on subjects where opinion is free—and they never gave an opening to their adversaries by exaggerated language.

As a consequence they were at first greeted with unreserved applause, and except for inevitable discussions in learned circles no disagreeable incident occurred to turn their thoughts from their work. A storm, however, was brewing in secret and it was upon the head of Papebroch, the man of plain speech, that it burst. Much as one may wish to pass over a fruitless quarrel long forgotten, the episode must here be referred to, because it entailed serious consequences. Without going back to its origins, the essential facts must be recalled.

The Acts of Saint Berthold, first prior of the Carmelites, had appeared under March 29. In the commentary, the editors, wishing to avoid a heated discussion, had refrained from giving an opinion on the immemorial antiquity of the Order, which claimed to date from the prophet Elias. This reserve did not satisfy the Carmelites, and, in their name, Father Francis de Bonne-Espérance, in his *Historico-theologicum Carmeli armamentarium*[1] challenged the Bollandists to state their opinion which they were told conformed with the claims of the Order.

[1] Antwerp and Cologne, 1669. The surname of Father Francis is Crespin.

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The occasion to deal with the subject presented itself quite naturally in Volume I of April when it was necessary to elucidate the Acts of Saint Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and author of the Carmelite rule. The work fell to Papebroch who explained his ideas frankly and showed that there was no foundation for the tradition of the Order on this point. This caused an explosion of wrath and indignation amongst those concerned.[2] A war of pamphlets began immediately; a swarm of lampoons appeared with grotesque titles, intended to discredit the conscientious critic who was culpable only to the extent of having expressed an opinion for which he had been asked.

The incidents marking the first phase of hostilities are not known, because for many years the Bollandists, thinking they had more important work to do than to answer the accusations heaped upon them by their opponents, met them only

[2]Papebroch was doubtless not much surprised by this. In Florence and in other Carmelite monasteries he had seen pictures, inspired by current legends, in which the Blessed Virgin was represented in the habit of Carmel. He was informed that, when Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, had expressed his astonishment and asked if there were any more ancient examples of these pictures, the Prior of the Carmelites had answered, with more humor than gravity, that in a hundred years the pictures that were being then painted would be ancient. *Acta SS.*, Maii, vol. I, p. li.

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with silence. The attack had been going on for twenty years when in 1695, Janninck thought it necessary to publish the *Apologia pro Actis Sanctorum*, preceded by two letters wherein he protested against the calumnies of which his master had been made the object, in a long memoir then just published under the title: *Exhibitio errorum quos P. Daniel Papebrochius Societatis Jesu suis in notis ad Acta Sanctorum commisit.* The author, named Petit, and, in religion, Father Sebastian de Saint-Paul, Carmelite provincial, had drawn up a list of violent accusations against any person rash enough to question the claims of the Carmelite Order.

The *Exhibitio errorum*, justly forgotten today, reflects accurately the state of mind of those who objected to critical methods in such subjects, and although the author keeps constantly in view the defence of the traditions which had been impugned, he uses every means he thinks fit to ruin the thesis, the method and above all the credit of his opponent. The arguments are those which periodically recur from the pen of half-educated writers whose ideas have been troubled by the Bollandists. The manner of writing is characteristically passionate: mutilated quotations, forced distinctions, malevolent insinuations, suspicions of heresy, malicious hints, in a word, everything that resentment can devise to crush an adversary.

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The system of defence adopted by Father Sebastian is simplicity itself. Papebroch is denounced as a man who has no respect for anything and who is in league with infidels and heretics; his subversive principles place the most sacred traditions in peril. The negative argument is Sebastian's favorite weapon, a deadly and treacherous weapon, which slashes everything that men have been in the habit of respecting. On the strength of mere conjectures, he avows, Papebroch denies the most firmly established facts. And what conjectures! *Coniecturis exsibilatione potius quam responsione dignis.* With him, satire, sarcasm and slander take the place of valid reasons. To refute stories approved by the Apostolic See, or commonly accepted, the Bollandist makes use of a multitude of pagan authors such as Saracens and Jews, as well as of heretics and others condemned by the Church. At the head of the list, figure Suetonius and Tacitus, then Josephus, later Æneas Sylvius and many others equally detestable.

This enumeration of errors imputed to the hagiographer was of a kind likely to impress the people for whom the memoir was written. What was to be thought of a man who not only presumed to correct Baronius at every turn, but who criticized the chronology of the Popes, rejected the Acts of Saint Sylvester, the baptism of Con-

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stantine by that Pontiff, and the Donation of Constantine and who disputed the authenticity of the Decretals, the letter of Pope Formosus to the English bishops, and the Sabbatine Bull of John XXII?

Papebroch, continues his adversary, holds the narrative of the Assumption of the Virgin to be apocryphal, as well as the Acts of Saint Procopius, commended by the Nicæan Council, and the Acts of Saint Judas Cyriacus, in which the Invention of the Holy Cross is related; it is the same with regard to a number of Passions of the martyrs, such as those of Saint Catherine, Saint Barbara, Saint Barbarus, Saint Alexander and Saint Antonius, Saint Pelagia, Saint Hubert, and many others. The Apostolate of Saint Martha and Saint Mary Magdalena in Gaul does not find favor in his eyes. Saint Denis the Areopagite was not bishop of Paris, he did not carry his head in his hands after execution; he is not the author of the *Celestial Hierarchy*. The dragon of Saint George is but a myth, and also the dragon of Saint Theodore. Papebroch refuses the halo of martyrdom to all the Christians sacrificed by Julian. His ideas on the origin of monasticism are untenable. He will not admit, for example, that Saint Fronto about 150 A. D. was the spiritual father of seventy monks. Again Papebroch will not admit the existence of pictures painted by

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Saint Luke, he refuses to accept the statement that during the first centuries churches were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and he denies the antiquity of the cult of Saint Joseph. If we are to believe him, Saint Athanasius is not the author of the treatise *De Virginitate,* nor of the creed which bears his name, and he calls in question the sermon on the Assumption, attributed to Saint John Damascene. Papebroch, moreover, affirms that neither in the tenth century nor prior thereto, was there any question of indulgences for three years, five years, seven years or more, and the celebrated lists of indulgences at Saint Sebastian's and Saint Martino dei Monti in Rome are not authentic.

These are only a few examples taken at random from the long list, divided into eighty headings, in which it is proved that not a corner of the field of sacred learning but has been ravaged by the criticism of the Bollandists. We may surmise what was the severity, and above all the tone of the refutation itself. Papebroch's adversary never takes into consideration the arguments which the Bollandist invariably adduces, nor his experience in the appraising of documents and facts. The charge against him is that he had no right to touch accepted traditions, approved by the Popes, enjoined by the Church, and recorded in breviaries and martyrologies. The monograph

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has not even the semblance of a scientific discussion. It is a long denunciation intended for the clerics and for the ecclesiastical tribunals. The volume is dedicated to Pope Innocent XII, who could not fail, in the author's opinion, to condemn such an evil-minded writer, and at the same time to throw the weight of his support into the scale in favor of the claims of the aggrieved Order.

To accomplish this object it was necessary to find supporters in Rome. Sebastian de Saint-Paul had not left a single stone unturned. Papebroch, he said, had more than once expressed himself in a manner which would cause people to think that he placed bishops on a higher plane than cardinals. Further, he interfered in things which belonged to the province of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, for which body he evinced scant regard, and Roman traditions were treated by him with the same unconcern as everything else. These statements were carefully emphasized by the pamphleteers, and, according to his calculations, were likely to produce a deep impression upon the cardinals who would sit in judgment on Papebroch's work.

This was not enough. In bitterness of rage, his enemies did not trust the moderate and prudent proceedings of Rome, and in order to reach their goal more surely, the *Acta Sanctorum* had been

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with the greatest secrecy denounced to the Inquisition in Spain. The latter was not slow to act. On November 14, 1695, a decree was issued "against the books of Fathers G. Henschenius and D. Papebroch," that is to say against the *Acta Sanctorum* of March, April, and May, including the *Propylaeum* of May. The Inquisition of Toledo forbade the reading and sale of these volumes, under penalty of excommunication and fines.

The following are the motives set forth in this sentence: "These works contain propositions which are erroneous, heretical, savoring of schism, perilous in matters of faith, scandalous, offensive to pious ears, seditions, rash, audacious, presumptuous, gravely offensive to several of the Popes and the Holy See, to the Sacred Congregation of Rites, to the breviary and to the Roman martyrology, minimizing the virtues of several saints and of many writers, and containing as well many disrespectful statements regarding several of the Fathers of the Church and weighty ecclesiastical theologians. Likewise they contain offensive declarations against the religious state of several Orders, in particular the Carmelites and their writers, belonging to diverse nations, especially to Spain. . . . Finally these works contain many things expressed in praise of heretics and abettors of other detestable doctrines, prohibited

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and condemned by the Sovereign Pontiffs and by the Church, doctrines employed in these works to attack the traditions and saints of the Church."

We translate his text from a copy of the printed sheet done in four languages, wherein we find this simple word, added in Papebroch's handwriting: *legi*.[3] The worthy scholar who had overlooked so many insults received this new attack most calmly, but he decided that, once his catholic faith was held in suspicion, it was time for him to justify himself and to uphold the honor of the body to which he belonged. This was what induced him to write the *Responsio Danielis Papebrochii ad exhibitionem errorum*, which appeared in three parts in 1697 and 1698 and in which he takes up, point by point, the offenses set forth by the Carmelite Provincial. He was active at the same time in defending himself before the Spanish Inquisition and sent to that tribunal memorials in Latin and in Spanish.

At first a pretext was found for not receiving these papers, but later he was allowed to forward a secret vindication in Spanish, albeit this remained unanswered for a whole year. In a letter to the Grand Inquisitor, Papebroch asked that

[3] Preserved in the Library of the Bollandists. We do not quote the French translation, occupying the third column of the sheet. One is almost tempted to detect in it the work of some would-be joker.

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the heretical propositions referred to in the decree should be pointed out to him, declaring that he was ready to retract if they could not be interpreted in the orthodox sense; but this important personage did not deign to reply.

Encouraged by this first success, Father Sebastian and his friends thought the moment had arrived to attempt a decisive effort at Rome, and to give a finishing blow to their adversary. As soon as they got wind of these new proceedings, the Bollandists sent one of their number, Father Janninck, to Rome with instructions to note the disposition of the Curia and to act accordingly. Janninck got into touch with the cardinals and examiners and endeavored to learn their principal grievances. He soon saw that there was need of removing many prejudices created by the Decree, but that there was no question of any heretical propositions.

The efforts of certain friends, amongst whom were Mabillon, and Janninck's own efforts, together with a written justification submitted to the cardinals, were not without result.[4] Janninck soon received the assurance that the censure of the Spanish Inquisition would not be confirmed in Rome. The *Propylaeum Maii,* was

[4] On the intervention of Mabillon, see the article by Father Albert Poncelet: *Mabillon et Papebroch,* cited above.

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finally put on the Index, but no other condemnation followed.[5] Moreover it was expressly stated in the decree concerning this volume that the only portion subject to disapproval was that relating to certain conclaves, so that all that was demanded was the correction of these passages.

Papebroch, who was but slightly disturbed by this condemnation, sought less to avoid it than to clear himself from the infamous accusation brought against him in Spain. Janninck endeavored to obtain from Rome the satisfaction that had been asked for in vain from Toledo. He insisted at the Holy Office that there should be no hesitation in pointing out the heresies to be found in the condemned books. If none were discovered, he demanded that a public statement should be made. These proceedings were continued without any result until June 1700. Everybody in Rome knew how little the Spanish censure could be relied upon, but no one was inclined to disavow it. All that was left for Janninck to do was to return to Antwerp.

His unsuccessful effort was a source of keen regret to Papebroch who bothered himself little about attacks and censures provided only they

[5] The decree was promulgated December 22, 1700. The *Propylaeum* was not taken off the Index until the time of Leo XIII. The first edition in which there is no further mention of it is that of 1900.

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did not cast a doubt on the purity of his faith, nor could he endure the slightest suspicion to be entertained with regard to his orthodoxy. This was made manifest during a serious illness, which, in 1701, placed his life in great jeopardy. Thinking he was at the point of death, and, after he had received the last sacraments, he dictated a solemn protest wherein he asked from Clement XI the rehabilitation which he had failed to obtain from this Pope's predecessor. It ran as follows: "I, Daniel Papebroch, unworthy priest of the Society of Jesus, have spent about forty-two years in the assiduous effort to elucidate the Acts of the saints. This work has been received in various ways, praised by the larger number and attacked by others, as generally happens. Now that the Lord is calling me, as I steadfastly believe, to the Society of the Saints in Heaven, I have but one desire on earth, namely, that an appeal be made to the equity of our Holy Father Pope Clement XI, and that he may be implored not to refuse after my death what I have vainly and frequently begged of his predecessor Innocent XII.

"I have asked Innocent XII that, in virtue of the authority exercised by him over the whole Church, he would deign to inform me, or to order the Spanish Inquisition to inform me, as to the alleged heretical propositions condemned in my

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books in 1695; so that if, without knowing it, I have written anything heretical, I may be made acquainted with the fact and may have the opportunity of retracting the same; and that, if the Spanish Inquisition has not happened to discover in my books any heretical statements, then should that Tribunal expunge from its decree the term *heresy*, out of regard for its good name and also for my own.

"And now, at the moment when I am about to depart this life and to render an account of all my deeds before a righteous Judge, I beseech His Holiness Pope Clement to grant me, at least after my death, that which I have not been able to gain from him during my lifetime. Catholic have I lived and, by the grace of God, catholic I seek to die. I have a just right to die in the catholic faith before the eyes of the world; but such will not be my lot as long as the decree of the Spanish Inquisition has the appearance of having been formulated with full justice, or as long as it can be read in that decree that I have taught heretical doctrines and have been condemned for that reason."

Papebroch ended his declaration by thanking all those who had come to his aid during his long career as a writer, and by forgiving in the spirit of a true Christian. This document was read before a notary in the presence of several wit-

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nesses. Papebroch, who was blind, could only trace a cross instead of his signature.

The accession of Clement XI, who was no other than Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Albani, the friend and avowed protector of the work of the Bollandists, had given rise to great hopes and it was thought that the new Pope, in spite of the reluctance of the Roman Court to interfere with the affairs of the Spanish Inquisition, might decide, at least, to make representations which would be taken into consideration. The Pope's good intentions failed, because of political circumstances, and in 1705, when it became clear to all that reparation could come only from the Inquisition itself, Janninck, who had planned another journey to Rome, gave up the idea. He was making preparations to start for Spain, when he learned that Father Cassani, professor at Madrid, and *qualificator* to the Holy Office, was ready to take up the cause of the hagiographers. His services were accepted, and for nine whole years, with untiring zeal, he devoted himself to the work of rehabilitating Papebroch. His perseverance was crowned with success and, in the month of January 1715, to the surprise of the public, a decree revoking the condemnation of 1695 was to be seen posted on the Church doors. It was now permitted to read the *Acta Sanctorum*, which had been so solemnly forbidden, with the

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exception of a few corrections which were so trivial that it was apparent how hastily the Tribunal had acted.[6] The justification of Papebroch was full and complete. Unfortunately, the valiant combatant was no longer there to taste the joy of his triumph; he had died six months previously.

The acts of hostility and the intrigues which Papebroch's enemies had so persistently maintained, were now turned to their confusion and ended by covering the work with fresh glory. Unfortunately, this was not their only result. For seven whole years, the work was interrupted, and the impetus given by the tremendous energy of Papebroch went for nothing. The agitation provoked by controversy and stratagem pervaded the atmosphere, and for many long years its baneful influence continued to be felt. The workers, conscious that their labors were being spied upon, kept anxious watch lest they should expose themselves to an invisible enemy. For

[6] In the *Propylaeum* of May, the censure affected only the *Conclavium historiunculae*. In Volume III of March, concerning the genealogies of Christ, it was stated that the greater number of commentators had followed the African *temere*. The reading *facile* was prescribed. In Volume I of May, the Inquisition required the suppression of a sentence about the library of the Escurial: *ubi codicum manuscriptorum cadavera asservantur et putrescunt*. The remainder is in keeping with this.

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nearly half a century afterwards the flames were still smouldering beneath the ashes, and threatened to blaze up at the slightest breath.

In 1748, Pope Benedict XIV has written confidentially to the Spanish Inquisitor for having placed on his Index the writings of Cardinal Noris, which had been examined several times in Rome without being condemned, and had remonstrated with him about such a serious proceeding. "Our purpose was to make the Spanish Inquisitor understand," he wrote to Muratori, on September 25, 1748, "that the work of great men should not be denounced, even though they contain things which may give offense and which would deserve to be forbidden if they were the work of other authors we could quote, for instance, the Bollandists, Tillemont, Burnet and also your own work."[7]

Owing to an indiscretion, this letter which was of a strictly private nature, was made public. The allusion to the old quarrels was maliciously made use of and an argument was trumped up to prove from this letter that Benedict XIV, once the friend and admirer of the Bollandists, had changed his mind with regard to them. When the Pope was informed of these unfounded and malevolent rumors, he did not hesitate to deny

[7] See E. De Heeckeren, *Correspondence of Benedict XIV*, vol. I, 1912, p. 484.

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them. In a letter of April 3, 1751, to Father Stilting and his collaborators he stated with great simplicity what occurred and declared that in referring to the "cruel censure" of which Papebroch had been the unfortunate victim, he was far from ratifying or approving it, and that the correspondence which was never intended to be made public, contained nothing that could give the slightest weight to the conclusions which some insisted on drawing from it. The affectionate and spontaneous tone of the Pope's letter was such as to dispel all misunderstanding. The Bollandists hastened to have it printed and circulated, and reproduced it at the beginning of Volume IV of September, 1753, together with the reply they had sent to the Pope. The welcome accorded by the Pope to Stilting and Suyskens, who went to Rome in 1752, harmonized in every way with the sentiments expressed in his letter.

We can easily imagine that the commotion caused by this occurrence, though apparently trivial, was not merely superficial, but that the consequences were serious enough to justify the publication in 1755 of the large folio entitled: *Acta Sanctorum bollandiana apologeticis libris in unum volumen nunc primum contractis vindicata.* The dedication to Pope Benedict XIV is signed by the Antwerp publisher, Albert Van der Plassche, but the volume was certainly printed in Italy. As

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the title implies, it is a collection of documentary evidence first published separately by Janninck, Papebroch and others on the various occasions where controversies were provoked regarding the *Acta Sanctorum*. The disputes with the Carmelites and with the Spanish Inquisition take up the greater part, and the most important document is the *Responsio* of Papebroch.

These pages, written reluctantly by the illustrious critic, who so well realized the barrenness of mere controversy, make sad reading. The time spent in pointing out and dwelling upon the blunders and calumnies of Sebastian de Saint Paul might have been so much more profitably employed in carrying on the work. Papebroch only made up his mind to continue the contest because of the entreaties of those whose wishes were for him commands. Concluding, as was natural, that with a crafty adversary it would be wiser to give no further opening for fresh quibbles, he answered the accusation, article by article, and did not leave a single proposition, imputed as a charge against him, without full explanation. He follows his opponent step by step, without hesitating to discuss the same subjects when obliged to do so. The discussion is animated and the rejoinders are spirited, albeit without bitterness; there is no abuse, but occasionally a finely pointed epigram, and often an expression

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of the weariness he experiences in contending with such a foe. Of all that clumsily erected framework, Papebroch left nothing standing.

The greater number of theses which he undertook to defend, seem to us at the present time unimportant. We no longer take the trouble to read about controversies on subjects which in that day were new, or about facts once disputed, but now definitely won for science. But what does continue to interest the reader is the firmness wherewith Papebroch stands for a healthy and reasonable liberty without which scientific work is impossible. At a time when an effort was being made to stir up a conflict between criticism and authority, he opposes clear principles to senseless invective.

He was accused of usurping a role, to which he had no right, by meddling with subjects he should have left to his ecclesiastical superiors. He shows that these matters have an aspect which is open to free investigation and that he has not interfered with any rights reserved to the authorities.

"The opinion you oppose," Papebroch was told, "is that of a bishop; your own will surely be condemned." "I respect the bishop's judgment," he replied, "but episcopal consecration does not confer knowledge, and the problem in question is one to be solved by reasoning alone not by the smitings of a crozier."

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Papebroch had rejected as mythical a story related by early writers about Saint Joseph. Had he not seen that several of the Fathers had accepted it as historical? Papebroch regrets that they had made such a mistake, but nothing could change the fact that the episode had been taken from an apocryphal source which did not deserve any consideration.

Constantly it was urged upon him to remember that legends were authentic history, and that he had no right to cast a doubt upon them. "You are allowed to relate them," he said, "but is that what you call approbation and a proof of their truth?"

He is continually obliged to revert to the matter of the question of the authority of the breviary, missal and martyrology. His adversaries confound the historical authority of the breviary with the obligation on the part of priests of reciting it. To infer the one from the other is to ignore the manner in which the book took form. The lessons of the breviary called historical are extracts or summaries drawn from the very earliest Lives of the saints. These are sometimes extremely valuable as documents of our earlier epoch, but they may at times be quite the reverse, and it is easy to quote lessons which are merely an epitome of Acts universally acknowledged as apocryphal. If a lesson has historical

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authority, it derives it from the Acts from which the lesson is taken, the Acts themselves do not become authentic by the fact of being incorporated in the breviary. It is a simple application of the principle that in history the value of a document is measured by the genuineness of its source.

In missals there is hardly any valid historical element. There are items which history can turn to account, but errors relating to the saints can also creep in and this fact is proved by the corrections which from time to time are made.

As for martyrologies, it is only by forgetting their origin and even their form, so liable are they to be disfigured by copyists, for anyone to be justified in trusting their statements blindly. The Roman martyrology is not rendered suspect by the mere fact that one inquires into its sources or remembers that Baronius, when charged with the duty of composing it, took as the basis of his text Usuard whose numerous errors he was not in a position to detect; or that Baronius was mainly anxious to complete it and that his additions were not always well-advised. Most of the Greek saints, for example, were taken by him from an ill-constructed compilation by Sirlet, and he has also drawn from certain Acts, later recognized as fabulous. To undertake the preliminary work essential for a proper use of Usuard, it

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would have been necessary to adopt the Hieronymian martyrology as a starting-point; and Holstenius, as soon as he gained knowledge of this document through a copy of the Echternach MS., published by the Bollandists, saw the use which could be made of it. This valuable auxiliary was lacking to Baronius, whose work otherwise deserves the greatest consideration. It is not therefore astonishing that a compilation made in such haste and based on incomplete and unreliable material, should have needed correction in more than one place during the author's lifetime, or that the modern methods now in practice offer the means of detecting errors on nearly every page.

If this is the judgment passed on a serious work written in perfectly good faith, what is to be said of certain collections like the Spanish martyrology of Tamayo, a receptacle for the fabulous traditions of his country and repudiated even in Spain by all true scholars; or of the Franciscan martyrology of Arthur du Moustier wherein titles of *Saint* or *Blessed* are distributed, without any discretion, to all persons who have left behind them a reputation for virtue?

The subject of pontifical letters was frequently brought up against Papebroch, as well as the audacity he had to question facts mentioned in Papal bulls. But he remained quite unmoved by such

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accusations. In documents of this class, a distinction must be made between what is affirmed in the name of the Pope and what is related on the authority of the petitioners, or upon current opinion which is by no means vouched for by the fact that it is mentioned in the document.

Papebroch's adversaries reminded him constantly that respect for tradition was one of his first duties, and they maintained that a tradition is the more venerable in proportion as it is more ancient or more universally accepted.

Papebroch draws attention to the fact that it is a mistake to judge a tradition according to its antiquity; it should be measured not by its relation to us, but by its relation to the facts. As an example of an old and *receptissima* tradition, he quotes the legend of his native town. Antwerp had been delivered from the tyranny of the giant Antigonus, by a champion named Brabo, who cut off his hand and threw it into the Scheldt. There was a time when everyone admitted the derivation, *Antwerpen* = *Hant* (hand) *werpen* (to throw), and cited it in the story of Antigonus and Brabo. Further evidence was found in the fact that the arms of the city bore two severed hands. Nobody thought of doubting a truth which had left such visible traces in the language and in the monuments of the town. Today, even children laugh at this

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fable. Analogous cases are to be found in hagiography. Do we not see, for example, that the tradition of Denis the Areopagite, Bishop of Paris and a martyr, which took rise in the ninth century, was for a long time accepted by everybody and then finally abandoned, even in France?

Moreover, Papebroch was not one of those inclined to take such things too seriously, and he understood that certain communities have an affection for traditions to which they cling. But moderation in judging all such matters is necessary, and these questions ought not to cause bitterness. It would be well indeed if his adversaries had followed the example of the people of Cologne. He says of them:

"They are quite satisfied with the primitive fable in the story of Saint Ursula, about which the inhabitants have no doubt. However, they do not constantly embellish it with fresh additions, nor do they declare themselves deeply offended if their ideas are not shared by others. They do not summon their opponents before a court of justice, accusing them of being sworn enemies of their Church, envious of her glory and harboring contempt for her relics. They simply continue to honor Pope Saint Cyriacus who is believed to have been martyred there, and they show his head crowned with the tiara, without allowing themselves to be much disturbed about the matter."[8]

[8] *Responsio,* vol. II, p. 362.

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But if Papebroch demanded considerable liberty with regard to tradition in scientific circles, he did not wish to have these questions broached before an incompetent and uneducated public. He said on this subject: "It would be most unworthy of a preacher if, in order to flatter an ignorant multitude and to gain their good graces, he should extol in flowery language and should instil in the minds of his hearers any unfounded popular traditions relating to the antiquities, sacred or profane, of their country. And he would be specially to blame if he himself did not believe them or was conscious that no self-respecting man of culture could place credence in them. But, in my opinion, a priest who has been asked, for example, to hear confessions or to preach in a Carmelite convent would be still more ill-advised and indiscreet, were he to begin by perplexing the nuns with difficult controversial questions regarding matters of belief accepted in their Order although disapproved of elsewhere. His untimely zeal would only have the result of alienating their hearts and of troubling the community and often even of scandalizing the whole city. Such a priest would merit by his conduct the blame of the very ones even who might possibly agree with his views. There are many subjects that may easily and profitably be argued

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in the schools or discussed in books, but are not fit to be brought to the notice of women or of plain folk whose feelings are apt to be affected.[9]

These are clear intimations of regrettable affairs happening in Papebroch's own day and age. On the question of relics his opponents tried to force him to conclusions which could not be accepted. "According to you," they said, "all relics of which the authenticity is proved only by tradition without any written contemporary attestation must be withheld from veneration and thrown into the rubbish heap." "Not necessarily," replied Papebroch, "unless there are good reasons to doubt their genuineness." However, he does not hide the difficulty of the task, entrusted to the bishops by the Council of Trent, and acknowledges that one is often obliged in such matters to proceed *ex piae credulitatis affectu,* rather than upon established data. The inquiry leads frequently to the conclusion that a relic has been received in good faith and comes from a place where it was honored, or that it has been found to be the relic of a certain saint, and that there are traces of veneration from an early period. But such arguments can be, and, often are, deceptive and yet one has to be satisfied with them."[10]

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 376.

[10] Papebroch adds: *"Aequum enim est ut ibi subsistat*

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Sebastian de Saint Paul had challenged Papebroch as to the relic of the Sacred Blood at Bruges, reproaching him with ingratitude towards a town to which the Society of Jesus was under such great obligations. In this connection his crime was that he had not devoted a detailed account to this important relic, under date of May 3, but that he had merely referred the reader to local authors, as though the subject did not deserve discussion in the huge tomes of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

Papebroch was guilty of no disdain, but doubtless he was glad to shelter himself behind the rule which had been adopted for festivals of this category: the Feast of the Sacred Blood is simply announced in the *praetermissi* with the following note: *De hac solemnitate videri possunt Molanus in Natalibus sanctorum Belgii et scriptores de rebus Brugensibus et Flandricis.*

To Father Sebastian's impertinent challenge, Papebroch replies shrewdly: "Is it purposely or by chance that you have refrained from mentioning Molanus? If you have read him you must know that it would be difficult to write many

humanae inquisitionis diligentia ubi ulterior labor esset frustraneus et a superstitionis periculo tuta sit reliquias venerantium religio, quatenus ea tendit in primarium suum obiectum, id est sanctorum honorem, etsi fortassis eorum ipsae non essent quae ut tales proponuntur." *Responsio*, vol. II, p. 366; cf. vol. I, p. 351.

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pages, or even half a page, about this relic. You must have learned also from the note added by Molanus to the passage in question which simply repeats the doctrine of Saint Thomas, adhered to rigidly by every catholic, that we have shown great discretion in forbearing to treat this subject. Moreover, we could not have pleased the people of Bruges except to give a decision contrary to the accepted theological teaching and to the opinion of Saint Thomas himself. I doubt very much if you, learned professor that you are, would dare to take such a risk; for no matter what you did, you would either displease the people or draw down upon yourself the wrath of the Schools; a twofold peril, only to be avoided by keeping silence."[11]

One of the expedients resorted to by Father Sebastian was to throw individual revelations into the scale, and to attempt to decide historical questions by the visions with which holy men and women had been favored. Papebroch protests against principles so subversive of all criticism and recalls his dissertation *De sanctarum ecstaticarum secundum species naturaliter praehabitas durante raptu quandoque motarum dictis factisque ad historicarum quaestionum decisiones non transferendis.*[12]

[11] *Responsio,* vol. II, p. 417.
[12] *Act. SS.,* Maii, vol. VI, pp. 246-249.

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Some well chosen examples will explain his ideas better than any theories. Saint Mary Magdalen of Pazzi had a vision of the manner whereby our Lord was fastened to the Cross. Papebroch points out that her description is quite in keeping with the paintings of his time, but is in direct contradiction to the revelations of Saint Bridget upon the same subject. The Blessed Columba of Rieti had an apparition of Saint Jerome with his lion, and the lion remained near her the whole night. Yet it is well known that the lion does not belong to Saint Jerome but to Saint Gerasimus. However, since by a confusion amongst hagiographers the lion has become the symbol of the learned saint, when the latter wishes to be recognized he must of necessity show himself with his acquired companion. Let us suppose an apparition of Saint James. If he does not appear with the pilgrim's hood and staff, the gourd and the shells, a new revelation would be needed to establish his identity.

Another instance in point: After a vision, Saint Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, wishing to paint the portrait of Saint Aloysius, gives him light hair, yet the portraits of him painted during the saint's lifetime, both at Castiglione and elsewhere, prove that his hair was auburn.[18]

These everyday details are not the only charac-

[18] *Responsio,* vol. II, p. 384.

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teristics of ecstatic visionaries. Amongst the prayers attributed by reputable authority to Saint Catherine of Siena there is one which denies the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.[14] "If this prayer is really by the saint," says Father Lancicius, an authority on these matters, "it must be admitted that on this occasion she spoke, not under the influence of divine revelation, but according to her personal feelings, as a spiritual daughter of the Dominican Fathers who had taught her this opinion." The quotation borrowed from Lancicius by Papebroch deserves to be continued: "For it must be remembered," he goes on, "that when certain persons speak during an ecstasy, they often utter their own opinions, sometimes even giving voice to hallucinations. This is quite certainly known to men of experience and confirmed by authentic history. I myself, can mention saints canonized by the Holy See, whose words pronounced during their ecstasy I have read, or writings derived therefrom. Now, in these writings are to be found hallucinations of so marked a character that it has proved necessary for this reason to forbid the publication of them."

It can be seen how frank and determined Papebroch was as long as he remained on the

[14] *Dialogi D. Catherine Senensis Virginis sanctissimae in sex tractatus distributi.* Ingolstadii, 1583, p. 320.

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field of learning, and how prudent and reserved, when he had once crossed the boundary and was addressing simple folk. The reproach brought against him that he created trouble in some souls by his critical writings fell upon those who revealed to the layman these discussions which could only be properly understood by scholars. So, too, it has happened at other times that overzealous censors have been seen denouncing a scandal which was due entirely to their own action in attacking through the daily press works which but for them would never have fallen under the eyes of the general public.

The principles which guided Papebroch in his researches were wisdom itself. They were never found to be at fault, and even now they may be safely followed. Their application may become stricter according as our modern methods improve and as the hagiographical horizon grows wider. If they had been presented to the public in clear synthetic form, instead of being scattered in a polemical work, they would have formed a manual of hagiographical criticism which might always be consulted with benefit.

Nobody can flatter himself by thinking he is able to furnish a definite and final solution for every problem of erudition or that he will be universally heeded as an oracle. A true scientific work necessarily calls forth discussion and more

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than once the Bollandists were able to profit from an argumentary contest by accepting ultimately the opinion of a courteous and competent adversary, as Papebroch did with regard to Mabillon. Apart from this academic swordplay, in which every scholar ought to be an adept, there were also some skirmishes wherein *esprit de corps* had a larger share than zeal for science. Laderchi took offense at a word attributed to Saint Philip de Néri and which was no doubt considered to redound too much to the honor of Saint Ignatius. The titles of Saint Dominic to nobility, supposedly a member of the family of Guzman, were energetically vindicated by several Dominicans. Thus began a second war of pamphlets together with some dissertations which seemed worthy of a reply. The controversy began in 1734 and ended in 1736.[15] It had none of the consequences of the great quarrel with the Carmelites.

Various other incidents which for a short time troubled the peaceful labors of the Bollandist Museum are scarcely worth recalling, except perhaps the dispute between Father Du Sollier and Dom Bouillart. The Abbey of Saint-Germain-

[15] A collection of documents relating to this controversy is preserved in the manuscript 8430-8434, in the Royal Library in Brussels. See also *Acta Bollandiana apologeticis libris vindicata,* pp. 896-1008.

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des-Prés had refused to give the Bollandist who was preparing an edition of Usuard, the most ancient manuscript of this martyrology, the autograph, as it was supposed to be.[16] He therefore had to content himself with an inadequate collation, though, on certain doubtful points, he had recourse to the kindness of some Parisian friends. He had, however, highly appreciated their copy and begged the Benedictines to publish it. The edition appeared in 1728. It was anonymous. The author, D***, was Jacques Bouillart, who converted it into a work of bitter and disagreeable polemic. He made this lack of good taste worse by sending to Father Du Sollier a copy of his Usuard with an anonymous letter telling him that, if there was anything in his book which might offend, he was ready to give "all the satis-

[16] Wattenbach. *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 7th ed., vol. I, p. 67, states that Longnon has given an opinion on this subject. This is not quite correct. Here is what this scholar writes about the Latin manuscript 13745 in the National Library in Paris: "In a short Latin notice, written on one of the fly-leaves of the manuscript, Mabillon does not hesitate to acknowledge this copy of the martyrology as the autograph manuscript of Usuard. Sceptical minds might after all claim that the copyist to whom we are indebted for the martyrology was only a contemporary of Usuard." *Notices et documents publiés par la Société de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1884, p. 10.

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faction required". In his reply Father Du Sollier complains of this objectionable behavior:

"Reverend Father, I pardon you for having put no date on your letter, but I consider it hardly becoming that you should send me asterisks in place of your name. . . . Be assured that I accept all you say and all the flattering things you write in the sense which your letter implies, without seeking for any satisfaction either from you or from those who may read your book, except that of asking you to be so kind as to compare the places which you try to refute by means of detached fragments, to compare, I repeat, passage with passage. This will relieve anyone from refuting you and will serve as a reply. A more formal censure, Reverend Father, you must not expect, as you must know that I have more to do than to notice a handful of trifles which can never injure the purpose of my work as a whole. I am pleased to have forced you to publish your codex and I have always been sincerely anxious to spare you this trouble, if only your Fathers had wished to show to me the same consideration which on a previous occasion Father Papebroch showed to them by sending them the real or assumed autograph of Thomas à Kempis, and this was done at a time quite as dangerous as that in which I begged them often to grant me this favor, more for their own interests than for mine.

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Everyone is convinced by what I have said in my preface and elsewhere, that I could not have acted more sincerely, and that no one else could have written a wiser judgment of your Usuard than the one I formed, with rather more moderation than you have been good enough to show to my edition which is safe, however, from your criticism and which does not require any apology for its existence."[17]

Du Sollier let the matter rest there, nor can it be said that he was not in the right in desisting from a literary quarrel, from which no good could ever be expected.

[17] The letters of Dom Bouillart and Father Du Sollier have been published by Mgr. de Ram, at the end of a translation of the *Dissertation sur les martyrologes*, by Binterim, Louvain, 1835, pp. 30-32.

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CHAPTER VI

THE CATASTROPHE

This is not the place to relate in detail the story of the intrigues which ended in the suppression of the Society of Jesus, nor to speak of the plight in which for many years its members were placed owing to the dread and, later, to the threat of approaching destruction as well as to the selfish greed which the prospect of dissolution and downfall had aroused in various quarters.

A curious letter, dated May 29, 1767, and addressed to the Count de Cobenzl, Minister of Maria Theresa at Brussels under Charles, Duke of Lorraine, by P. F. de Nény, president of the privy council, shows that the fate of the work of the Bollandists was already engrossing the attention of certain individuals, and gives some indication of what might be expected from the agents of the Austrian government.—"Monsieur V . . . has begged me to recommend him to your Excellency for the post of superintendent of the Library of the Bollandists, for he is firmly convinced that the blessed fathers will soon clear away from our provinces. To give more weight to his request, he is ready to steal from the Li-

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brary, and proposes to present to your Excellency, the finest Pliny in the world. . . . I, too, am to be repaid for recommending him by some Greek book or other which is extremely rare."

The Minister replied on the following day: "Although Monsieur V . . .'s request is a bribe for you and for me, I accept it, on the condition that I get as my share the fine picture by Van Dyck in the Sodality Hall."[1]

This shameless bargain was no doubt unknown to the Bollandists, but they certainly were aware, for it was a secret to nobody, of the plots which were being hatched in the chancelleries and also of what dangers they were exposed to. Was there, in 1770, the date of the publication of Volume III of October a lull, and did the superiors think that they were in comparative safety? One is tempted to believe it, for we find them organizing, side by side with the work of the Bollandists, a new literary enterprise with which they to certain degree cooperated.

In Malines, there was an establishment resembling that of the Bollandists, called the Bellarmin Museum which included a library and a corps of writers in charge of the publication of

[1] Extracts published by C. Piot: *Le règne de Marie-Thérèse dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens, Louvain,* 1874, p. 71.

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controversial works.[2] In the second half of the eighteenth century, religious polemics having abated in our provinces, it was proposed to give a new trend to the activities of this institution. Just at this time, the government witnessing the success of the Bollandists' work, resolved to entrust to the Jesuits of the Flemish-Belgian province the publication of a collection of works on the history of the country. It was to be called *Analecta Belgica*. The negotiations dragged on for a long space, but ended finally during the provincialship of Father Clé, a former Bollandist, who was instrumental in persuading the General of the Society to accept an arrangement whereby capital to the amount of 50,000 florins was appropriated from the Bellarmin Museum for the new enterprise. Father Ghesquière was transferred from the *Acta Sanctorum* and charged with the direction of the new museum which was established next to the Bollandist Museum in the Professed House at Antwerp. He was given three collaborators, Donation Dujardin, Philip Cornet and Francis Lenssens. In a short time much material was collected and a prospectus issued under the following title: *Prospectus operis quod in-*

[2] See the article *Clé*, in De Backer. *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. I, p. 1296; Gachard, *Mémoire historique sur les Bollandistes et sur leurs travaux*, Ghent, 1835, pp. 8-10.

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scribitur Analecta Belgica ad XVII provinciarum Belgii ac ditionum interjacentium historiam dilucidandam pertinentia. This publication was divided into three parts. The first was to be devoted to research as to the provinces and inhabitants of the Netherlands during the Celtic, Roman and Frankish periods and also during the feudal regime. The *Acta Sanctorum Belgii* was to form the second part, and the third was to be composed of Belgian chronicles in Latin, French and Flemish to which the *diplomas* or charts were to be added.

This new organization had scarcely begun active operations when it was swept away, together with the work of the Bollandists, in the general suppression of the Society. The Bull of Suppression issued by Clement XIV took effect in Belgium on September 28, 1773. In the Professed House at Antwerp, Councillor Van der Cruyce was ordered "to summon the ex-Jesuits who had been working at the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum* and to let them know that the government, being satisfied with their work, might be inclined to show them special consideration."[3] The committee appointed to wind up the business of the suppression of the Order gives the most inconsistent and contradictory accounts as to the Bollandists. At one moment, the work

[3] Gachard, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

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is declared not to be "calculated to extend human knowledge"; at another, the reputation which it enjoys is emphasized, and it is deemed "useful to the Church and of such a character as to throw new light on ecclesiastical history." One of the projects submitted consisted in entrusting the Academy with the continuation of the *Acta Sanctorum*, as well as with the new enterprise of the *Analecta Belgica*. On the report of Prince de Kaunitz, it was at first decided that the former collaborators should be employed, and they therefore remained temporarily in the Professed House at Antwerp to continue their work.

In 1775, they received notice to quit the house which it was proposed to utilize for a military academy. Books, manuscripts, everything had to be abandoned, so that the work wellnigh perished then and there. During three whole years, conferences and negotiations were kept up. The Bollandists offered to retire to any abbey which would welcome them and where they could train their successors. This proposal was considered, and the Abbot of Caudenberg in Brussels, G. J. Warnots, declared that he was ready to shelter them. A decree dated June 19, 1778, made known at last the will of the Empress as to the continuation of the *Acta Sanctorum* and of the *Analecta Belgica*. It settled the transfer of the Bollandists' establishment to the abbey of Cau-

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denberg and it stipulated the pension of the three survivors, De Bye, De Bue and Hubens, as well as that of Guesquière, who was definitely entrusted with the *Analecta*. It also gave instructions as to the recruiting of workers, the sale of the volumes, the removal of the library and provided for the completion of the undertaking as early as possible.[4] De Külberg, in the report already mentioned, gives details as to these measures which we read with interest.

"All my observations," he says, "in discussing this question before the committee, were made to the end that the publication should be expedited with all due despatch, and that the work should be completed as quickly as was feasible.

"Three points were agreed upon with a view to accomplish this object: Previously, nothing had been omitted which bore on the life of a saint; every fact, without distinction, which had any relation to it, whether in reality or in public opinion, was discussed and put into the crucible of sound criticism, to be adopted or rejected. We decided that in order to abridge the work, it could easily be arranged that only questions or facts of sufficient importance should be discussed in the commentaries.

"1. It had been generally the custom, as has been said above, to insert in full all the Lives of

[4] Gachard, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23.

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a saint previously published, although printed in other works which were known and in circulation. We decided that such repetition was useless and that it would be sufficient to give but one of these Lives. This could be effected by placing before the reader in concise form anything particularly to be found in the one which had been copied, or which happened to exist in another version. Moreover, it was settled that, only in special circumstances and because of very important reasons, permission would be given to insert in full Lives of the same saint already dealt with by other writers.

"2. Miracles, no matter of what nature or sort, which were attributed from any quarter to any saint, had usually all been submitted without distinction to the scrutiny and criticism of the hagiographers. It was thought that this arrangement could be curtailed by admitting in the new plan of procedure only miracles established by satisfactory evidence, and merely indicating all the others by some brief observation.

"3. Lives of saints, proved by the hagiographers to be fabulous and, as such, rejected by them, were nevertheless edited in full although previously published by other writers. It was thought wise to avoid such futile prolixity and to demonstrate by extracts drawn from these Lives

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that they are actually mythical and to point out to the reader where he could find them in full.

"This, as above stated, is the method which the committee agreed should be adopted for future work.

"Now, the question is whether this reform, which will shorten the work by a fifth part, should be announced to the public in the prospectus. The members of the committee agreed with me that it would not be advisable."[5]

The Abbot of Caudenberg did all in his power to help on the installation. The removal of the library gave much trouble to the hagiographers. In 1775, when the Professed House had been taken over for its new purpose, books and documents had been packed in cases without system or inventory. "In October 1778, the work of transferring the Bollandists' papers to the Abbey of Caudenberg began. The Bollandists had in the center of their Antwerp Library a large desk with two hundred and forty drawers, divided according to the months and days of the year. These contained the Acts relating to the saints and also to the writings already prepared on the Lives of the saints. This desk was reconstructed at Caudenberg. All the documents contained in

[5] Royal Library of Brussels, MS. 17674, f. 38-39. Here again we have corrected several errors due to the copyist.

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it were placed in perfect order. The manuscripts and papers of the Bellarmin Museum were also moved to the Abbey and the hagiographers and Father Ghesquière gave a receipt for them. As to the books comprising the libraries of the two establishments, an assortment from them was made of such volumes as were deemed necessary for the continuation of the Bollandists' labors. Another lot was laid aside for sale with the Jesuits' books and the remainder were placed in the Royal Library."[6]

These preparations required two whole years, and were completed in 1780. How the hagiographers had been able to print a volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* in the midst of such confusion I do not attempt to explain. It was, as a matter of fact, in 1780 that Volume IV of October was published by the Royal Printing House in Brussels.

The youngest of the Bollandists, Ignatius Hubens, died two years later. According to the agreement, two young monks belonging to the Abbey had been selected to help in the work of the *Acta Sanctorum*, F. J. Reynders and J. B. Fonson, both from Brussels. The first, not feeling himself equal or suited to scientific work, gave up the task. The initiation period of the second was not sufficiently well advanced to make

[6] Gachard, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

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him a proper successor to Henbens. The government called on Dom Anselm Berthod, a Benedictine of the Congregation of Saint Vanne and prior of Luxeuil, who had visited the Bollandists in their prosperity and had evinced the most sincere admiration for their work.[7]

He arrived in Brussels on October 9, 1784. His career as hagiographer was not long for he died about three years later, in March 1788.

We need not give here any special account of the *Analecta Belgica* nor of the project of Ghesquière to found a Society of Antiquarians in Brussels, and the opposition shown by the Academy to this project.[8] We must mention, however, the *Acta Sanctorum Belgii* which fulfilled part of the plan laid down for the *Analecta*. The first five volumes were published at Brussels from 1785 to 1789. The first two volumes are the work of Ghesquière, the three following were completed in collaboration with Cornelius Smet, a former Jesuit. The sixth volume in which the name of Canon Isfride Thys is associated with that of Ghesquière, appeared in 1784 at Tongerloo. It was out of the question, in a special

[7] See article of Dom U. Berlière in the *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. XVI, 1899, pp. 193-209.

[8] P. Verhagen, *Projet d'une société d'archéologie à Bruxelles en 1779*, in *Annales de la Société d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, vol. XXVII, 1913, pp. 107-116.

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series of such a purely historical character, to follow the order of the calendar; for this reason the chronological order was adopted. Volume VI embraces two-thirds of the eighth century. When the Royal Commission of History was organized in Belgium and succeeded the organization of the historiographers of Antwerp, finally represented by Ghesquière alone, it was decided to continue the *Acta Sanctorum Belgii*, and Mgr. de Ram accepted the responsibility of the task. This scheme, however, was not carried out. The work was taken up once more by the Bollandist Albert Poncelet who had prepared two new volumes, but who died suddenly in 1911, just as these were going to press. They would have been published in that year but for the events which occurred in 1914.

The work of the Bollandists had scarcely been set on a new footing when it was visited by a fresh calamity. The Abbey of Caudenberg, affected by the reforms of Joseph II, was ruthlessly suppressed and ceased to exist on May 23, 1786. A new refuge had thus to be found. The government ordered the Bollandists to transfer their library to a portion of the premises of the old Jesuit College at Brussels which had been named the Theresian College. It took four months to put the new abode into some sort of order and it is a matter of surprise that Volume V of October,

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signed by C. De Bye, J. De Bue, and J. B. Fonson, bears the date of that fatal year. Such activity, so little in harmony with the circumstances, can be accounted for only by the urgent insistance of the Imperial Government which complained continually that the work was progressing too slowly. The Emperor had already, in 1784, stated that in future he expected to see at least one volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* appear every year, so that the series might be completed in ten years. The Bollandists explained their position, and had no difficulty in proving that such a demand was impossible. In any case, their fate had been sealed.

According to a calculation made in the Chambre des Comptes, it was found that by the suppression of the two organizations which were still on an equal footing, the Exchequer could economize from 2000 to 3000 florins a year. The authorities forgot the fact that, thanks to good management, the Bollandists had, when the Order was suppressed, succeeded in accumulating a capital of 136,000 florins and that this sum with the addition of 50,000 florins, constituting the capital of the Bellarmin Museum, had been paid into the state coffers and that a part of their expenses were covered by the sale of books.

An opinion in confirmation of the government view was requested from the Commission of Ec-

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clesiastical Affairs and Studies. In one of its reports, this Commission declared that they were "far from sharing the so-called profound veneration which the scholars of Europe are supposed to entertain towards the *Acta Sanctorum*," and closed the report with this reflection, for which no doubt they received the thanks of the government: "Moreover, the principal object before the Government, is, to get rid of the expenses in question." On October 16, 1788, the matter was decided: the Bollandists and the historiographers were to give up their work, and from November 1 (it is said that the feast of All Saints was purposely chosen), they would in future receive a yearly pension of only 800 florins.

"Thus was consummated," writes a historian, "an act of niggardly parsimony, or rather of pure vandalism, during the reign of a monarch who laid claim to the glory of regenerating his subjects by enlightening them. The two establishments which he suppressed cost his treasury nothing, since he had found them endowed with funds more than sufficient for their maintenance. Whatever opinion is held about Joseph II, his conduct towards the Bollandists will be an everlasting stain upon his memory."[9]

The tidings of this truculent action caused great indignation in Belgium and in the learned world

[9] Gachard, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

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at large. A complaint was lodged before the States of Flanders, with the object of proposing the continuation of the *Acta Sanctorum* at the expense of the province; but the political situation hindered the execution of this plan.

The government next endeavored to profit from the spoils of the suppressed work contained in the library. They did not hesitate to ask the Bollandists to conduct the sale themselves for the benefit of the treasury. Strange as such a determination may seem at first sight, the Bollandists accepted the proposal; it was their last hope of keeping the library and the materials together, with the possibility of continuing their labors. Father De Bye appealed first to Martin Gerbert, Abbot of Saint Blaise in the Black Forest, and proposed to him a purchasing price, offering at the same time to go with Father De Bue to the abbey and to remain there as long as it would be necessary to initiate several young monks into hagiographical work. His letter, dated November 11, 1788, was left unanswered.[10] In France, the Congregation of Saint-Maur was favorably disposed to come to an agreement which would have saved the melancholy wreckage, and took steps to make diplomatic overtures to the Imperial Government. These negotiations which

[10] General Archives of the Kingdom, *Conseil privé*, vol. 743, fol. 229-231.

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began in the month of November 1788, did not succeed.[11] The Bishop of Antwerp, Corneille François de Nélis, got to know of it, and was distressed to see a work which was an honor to his country pass into the hands of strangers. He at once opened his mind on the matter to his friend Godfrey Hermans, Abbot of Tongerloo, and persuaded him to resume the Bollandists' work.[12]

Numerous abbeys had already offered to the Bollandists to take up their work.[13] The hagiographers were delighted to begin negotiations with the Norbertine Abbey which had rendered services to the Society of Jesus in Belgium, and for these favors they had always cherished a grateful remembrance. Father De Bye on the one side and Canon Adrian Heylen on the other discussed the conditions and soon came to an agreement. The Chapter of Tongerloo consented to purchase the libraries of the Bollandists and of the Bellarmin Museum together with the materials which had been accumulated and the ma-

[11] Gachard, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[12] On this subject, see H. Lamy, *La reprise de l'œuvre des Bollandistes par l'abbaye de Tongerloo en 1789*, in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Charles Moeller*, vol. II, Louvain, 1914, pp. 481-501.

[13] Letters of Father De Bye of January 8 and 13, 1789. Archives of the Kingdom, *Conseil privé*, vol. 743, fol. 264-266.

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chinery for printing. The abbey would pay the pension of the three hagiographers, De Bye, De Bue and Fonson, and also those of the historiographers, Ghesquière and Smet. Confirmation of this transaction was made by the Emperor on May 14, 1789. At the same time, the abbey was authorized to contract a loan of 60,000 florins to cover the expenses of taking over the work. The staff of editors who still survived, including the compositor of the printing office, Van der Beken, installed themselves in the abbey and soon began operations aided by several canons regular who were initiated into hagiographical studies by the seniors. In 1794, Volume VI of October appeared, *Tongerloae typis abbatiae.* With C. De Bye and J. De Bue, the former Jesuits, were associated on the title page J. B. Fonson, aforetime canon of Caudenberg, Dom Anselm Berthod, and three Premonstratensian canons, Liard Van Dyck, Cyprian Van de Goor and Mathias Stals, as having had a share in the publication of the volume. It comprised the saints of October 12, 13 and 14. On the last page of the text, the word *index* is substituted for *dies,* which is an indication that they intended adding also the saints of October 15. The circumstances explain only too clearly the haste with which they worked to finish this volume. It has been composed during the troublesome days

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of the Belgian revolution, and the country was once more on the eve of a fresh disaster. At the beginning of the year 1792, Austrian troops had occupied the abbey and the government had ordered seals to be placed on the Bollandist printing-house which was not reopened until the end of November by the French Brigadier-General Eustache.[14] The printing was again resumed and had hardly terminated when Belgium saw herself invaded by the troops of the French Republic. This meant the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, persecution of the monks and, in the midst of so much calamity, the ultimate suppression of the Bollandist undertaking. Some peasants were able to hide a portion of the library, under just what conditions can be easily imagined. Another part was loaded hurriedly on wagons and sent off to Westphalia, whence only a small portion of them could be brought back.[15]

[14] W. Van Spilbeeck, *Eene onuitgegevene bladzijde uit de geschiedenis van het Bollandisme* in *De Vlaamsche School*, 1884, pp. 75-78.

[15] "Books and precious manuscripts fall a prey either to the flames or to worms. It is related that, about the time of the conclusion of the Concordat with the Holy See, one of the literary treasures was discovered by an official of the administration for the provinces, and the farmer who had concealed it, frightened at the disastrous consequences which might follow for him, set on fire with his own hand the house where the material was hidden, so that no proofs could be brought against him." *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, vol. VI, Ghent, 1837, p. vi.

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It seems that the books and manuscripts which had been concealed in the neighborhood of Tongerloo were taken one by one under cover of darkness and deposited in the castle of Westerloo. The government of the Netherlands made overtures to secure possession of these materials. As the survivors at the abbey did not see any hope at all of reëstablishing the work of the Bollandists, they sold, in 1827 for 7000 florins, what remained, to them. The books were sent to the Library of The Hague, the manuscripts to the Burgundian Library at Brussels, where they still remain.[16] Amongst these manuscripts was found, chronologically classified, the material collected for the continuation of the work from October 16 to December 31. Another part of the library, probably that sent back from Westphalia, was sold at public auction at Antwerp in 1825. The principal purchasers were the English bibliophile, Richard Heber, and two Belgian bibliophiles, Van Hulthem and Lammens.[17]

Such was the end of the Bollandist Library. In the year X (1802) Citizen A. G. Camus was sent by the French Republic and by the Institute on a scientific mission to the departments on the left bank of the Rhine, also of Belgium and of the

[16] *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana,* vol. VI, p. vii; cf. *Act. SS.,* Oct., vol. VII, p. xx; Gachard, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

[17] *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana,* vol. VI, p. vii.

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North. He made minute inquiries about everything concerning the former society of the Bollandists, and gives very precise information which he gained, especially from "Citizen La Serna." The following details, added by Camus, are interesting to note. They prove that the learned world found it hard to submit to the suppression of the work.

"Citizen Dherbouville, prefect of the department of Deux-Nèthes at Antwerp, made in the year IX (1801), some attempts to induce the former Bollandists to take up their work again, albeit without success. In the month of Frimaire in the year XI (1803), the Institute wrote to the Minister of the Interior, begging him to induce the prefects of Dyle and of Deux-Nèthes to make overtures again to the Bollandists to continue their collection, or to give up, according to the arrangement that would be made with them, their manuscripts and the other material they had prepared."[18]

These proceedings were barren of any results. Several years had to elapse before the idea was taken up again. When that time came, the interrupted negotiations were fated to end in a way altogether unexpected.

[18] A. G. Camus, *Voyage dans les départements nouvellement réunis,* vol. II, Paris, 1803, pp. 58-59.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PERIOD OF REVIVAL

In 1836, a hagiographical society was founded in France with a view to continuing the *Acta Sanctorum*. Guizot, then Minister of Public Instruction, gave it his support and tried to negotiate with the Belgian government to have transferred to Paris the materials deposited in the Royal Library. Abbé Perrin was sent to Brussels to take the necessary steps and began a campaign through the press with the purpose of interesting the Belgian people in the new enterprise.[1]

It was soon apparent that the Society which was composed for the greater part of members entirely unknown to the world of letters seemed more gifted with enthusiasm than experience, and the amazement was general when the following declaration appeared: "We hope by our united efforts to be enabled to publish each year, if no obstacles arise, about three folio volumes of two hundred pages each containing twenty-four thousand letters to the page; this we calculate will mean ten years of work."

[1] In the newspaper *L'Union*, of Brussels, November 25, 26, 28, 29, and December 11, 1836.

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This inconsiderate proposition and the seizure by foreigners of a work so thoroughly Belgian caused indignation in literary circles. The newspaper *L'Union,* which opened its columns to Abbé Perrin's announcement, published another notice stating that there was a movement on foot in Belgium to reëstablish the former society of Bollandists, and it concluded in these terms: "The continuation of the *Acta Sanctorum,* one of the most important memorials of our literary glory, ought by right to belong entirely to Belgium."[2] A few days later, the same paper published another statement which runs as follows: "To set at rest all doubts as to the Belgian society which is preparing to publish the *Acta Sanctorum,* we have been notified that the Society of Jesus which has been identified with the work since its inception, will take it up anew." This declaration gave the death-blow to the hagiographical society of which nothing more was ever heard.

It must be admitted that the Jesuits had shown no eagerness to take its place. The Belgian province of the Society was by degrees reconstituted, in a country which had but hardly regained its freedom. The first colleges were being founded and the work of teaching required all the available forces of the Society, nor could it dream

[2] *L'Union,* December 11, 1836.

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at such a moment of taking up a burden which it would be scarcely able to support. Father Van Lil, provincial, answered all entreaties by pleading a dearth of courses of instruction and the danger of disorganizing the staff of teachers.

The zeal of Mgr. De Ram, rector of the University of Louvain, and member of the Royal Commission of History, finally overcame all resistance. He wrote to M. De Theux, Minister of the Interior, when the French plan was first announced, to implore the government to take an interest in the resumption by the Belgian Jesuits of the Bollandists' work, and he offered to negotiate with them. He expressed himself in these words: "Convinced that the Bollandists can only be replaced by themselves, that is to say, by members of a religious society which has fostered them with motherly care, and has deserved so well of the literary world, I cannot refrain from expressing my long-felt wish to see the Society of the Bollandists once more in existence, and I believe that their reëstablishment will present no difficulties. Abroad, as well as home, scholars will be eager to record the aspirations of a government striving earnestly to encourage such a company of men devoted to the task of completing the greatest monument of our literary history."[8]

[8] Letter of November 17, 1836, published in the *Revue catholique* of Louvain, vol. XVIII, 1860, pp. 153-155.

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The learned rector renewed his efforts in this direction and, at the same time, brought vigorous pressure to bear on the Provincial of the Jesuits to accept proposals which would put an end to foreign competition. His perseverance triumphed over all obstacles. In January 1837, the new Society of Bollandists, comprising Fathers J. B. Boone, Joseph Van der Moere and Prosper Coppens was founded at Brussels in the College Saint-Michel, and to their number was added a little later Father Joseph Van Hecke.[4] The government gave them the necessary authorization to receive on loan the manuscripts and books of the Royal Library and granted an annual subsidy of 6000 francs. They immediately began to draw up a prospectus which they published in 1838 under the title *De prosecutione operis Bollandiani,* this being the work of Father Van Hecke.

Though the Bollandists remember with gratitude and respect the distinguished man whose energetic intervention restored their work, they cannot forget the fact that the ephemeral organization, called the French Hagiographical Society, affected in a serious manner their future career.[5]

[4] Letter of Father Van Lil, January 29, 1837, to the Minister of the Interior.

[5] Father Victor De Buck published an interesting biography of Mgr. De Ram in *Les Études religieuses,* 1865, June, July, August.

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It was inevitable that, sooner or later, the matter of the resumption of the *Acta Sanctorum* would come up for discussion, but a lapse of time was necessary before the Bollandists could formulate and mature their plans. The appearance of the Hagiographical Society hastened developments. No matter who the representatives of foreign culture might be they could not be allowed any excuse for their intrusion, and the seizure of a natural possession had to be prevented at all costs. The difficulty was to find men better equipped to carry out the idea.

This task was enough to make the bravest hesitate. All that remained of the work of the Bollandist predecessors was a plan to which anyone following them was bound to adhere to, but the thousand secrets telling how to execute this plan had been lost. A tradition had grown up in the course of a century and a half of uninterrupted work, but after a break of forty years, no living witness to it remained. All that was left for the reconstruction of the work was the study of the immense collection and also of the notes which had escaped the wreck.

The tools forged by the Bollandist forerunners were scattered or destroyed. They had to be found again or new ones made. Thus, for example, the lists of saints which had been drawn up with such labor after searching through all

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the martyrologies, had to be done over again, as well as the catalogue of manuscripts necessary for future investigations.

The library was no longer in existence. Neither the great collections which are the foundation of learned research nor the indispensable catalogues were available for the hagiographers, and the innumerable monographs, formerly in one collection in the Bollandist Museum, had totally disappeared. Quarters for the library were not even to be had, and the new hagiographers were obliged to arrange along the dark corridors of the old College Saint-Michel, the first books which they succeeded in procuring.

It was in the midst of these material cares and while the scientific equipment was being put together, that Volume VII of October appeared in 1845, followed by Volume VIII in 1853. The other volumes of the same month succeeded one another at closer intervals: Volume IX in 1858, Volume X in 1861, Volume XI in 1864, Volume XII in 1867. Volume XIII was not printed until 1883.

Nobody will be astonished to find that certain parts of these enormous folios, particularly the first volumes, show the effects of the unfavorable conditions amidst which they were prepared, or that they are much more closely identified than one would wish with the traditions of the dark

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days of the eighteenth century. The work produced at this time, which we are inclined to consider premature, was executed under the stress of circumstances. The services of a Society which promised to accomplish the work quickly had been refused and the reading public would naturally be disappointed that the new Society should require more time to prepare a volume than the former one would have required to finish the complete series. People felt that the Bollandists ought to give proof of a new vitality. The impatience of certain friends had to be calmed. And besides, these new workers were now receiving a subsidy from the State without which they would have been unable to start again. To this subsidy from the government conditions were attached, by the first of which they were required to publish at fixed dates the remaining volumes. It would have availed little to have set forth to the government and the public the difficulties of the undertaking, or to have tried to make excuses for the delays caused by the unexpected turning up of material during investigation, or for other circumstances in themselves easy to explain. The collaborators were obliged to go forward in the disadvantageous position of an army which is forced to fight before it is completely organized. The lack of conciseness which marred the first volumes of their re-

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newed labors is the inevitable consequence of this pressure of work.

A short time before the suppression of the Abbey of Tongerloo, the Bollandists had commenced the printing of a new volume, some sheets of which had been run off. This part was printed a second time, except the commentary on Saint Theresa, of which only the first pages had been completed.[6] The remainder of the manuscript was not to be found, so that there was no choice but to do the work over again. This was undertaken by Father Van der Moere, on a plan which unfortunately was far too extensive. The rest of the volume is largely the work of Father Van Hecke. On the title page of Volume VIII are the names of Fathers Van Hecke, Benjamin Bossue, Victor De Buck and Antony Tinnebroeck. The last mentioned died in 1855, aged thirty-nine, and was succeeded by Father Edward Carpentier. To these names may be added, beginning with Volume X, that of Father Remi De Buck, and in Volume XII the name of Father Henry Matagne.

In this revival of Bollandism, the greatest hopes were fixed on Father Carpentier and

[6] A few copies of these pages are still in existence. Those of the Royal Library of Brussels and of the Library at Antwerp stop at page 112, before the commentary on Saint Theresa. The copy in the Library of the Bollandists contains 128 pages.

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Father Matagne, and it was hoped that they would make use of the Oriental sources, henceforth accessible, for the *Acta Sanctorum*. Both of these Fathers died, however, before the expectations were realized. Father Carpentier, after the publication of two works, considered amongst the finest in the whole series, on the saints of Ethiopia and the Arab martyrs, died in 1868, aged forty-six; Father Matagne died in 1872, aged thirty-eight, leaving behind him amongst his colleagues a lasting memory of his high intellectual abilities, including a profound knowledge of several Oriental languages. The loss of these excellent workers was a severe blow to the work. This affliction, followed by other troubles about the same time, made the completion of the work for October very difficult. When at last it became possible to publish Volume XIII, all the collaborators of this generation had disappeared.

Of these, the most remarkable was without doubt Father Victor De Buck. Born at Audenarde in 1817, he entered the novitiate at Nivelles in 1835, and was soon distinguished by his extraordinary talents, and noteworthy aptitude for work. He had hardly finished his philosophical studies in 1840, when he was appointed to assist the new Bollandists. He did not limit his studies to the hagiographical texts, but maintained that

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a critic should possess an extensive knowledge of general history and of its subsidiary branches. He neglected none of these, although he found keenest delight in the pursuit of archaeological and canon law studies. His knowledge of ecclesiastical law gave him the opportunity on several occasions of taking a useful part in some of the controversies over which opinion was so deeply stirred up at that time, and, in particular, of lending very great assistance to the cause of the religious Orders.

A facility for almost unlimited assimilation rendered him capable of handling the most varied subjects, and the many writings which came from his pen soon won for him a brilliant reputation. He did not limit himself to matters of pure erudition, and in political and religious struggles he was not content to remain a mere spectator. In everything that concerned ecclesiastical affairs he was continually consulted by the most eminent men. He was held in high esteem because of his vast intelligence and his broadmindedness, and he was loved for his simplicity and candor. A friend of Montalembert and of Mgr. Dupanloup, he was not trusted by the followers of Louis Veuillot. His hopeful illusions as to the immediate results of the Oxford movement[7] and an

[7] Cf. *Life of Pusey*, vol. IV, pp. 173-186; Thureau-Dangin, *La renaissance catholique en Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 133-140.

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exaggerated optimism as to the hopeful attitude of Russia towards the Roman Church led him to take an active part in negotiations for the reuniting of the Churches.

He very wisely considered that the prime condition for any attempt at unity was to exercise charitable forbearance, carefully avoiding any useless irritation, and he held in abhorrence that sort of zeal which is full of denunciations, only widening the gulf it is supposed to span. He accepted for the *Acta Sanctorum* a commentary by Father Martinoff on the Blessed Arethas of Kief (XIIIth. century) and this same author's study on the *Patericon* of Moscow. He inserted a remarkable preface to these works wherein he explained his views as to the epithet to be applied to writers outside the Catholic Church. He banished the odious word *schismatic*, preferring that they should be called simply *non-Catholics, non-united* or *orthodox*, and lest anyone should take offense at the word orthodox, he added: "Men of authority who have given serious thought to the symbols and liturgical books of Russia, are convinced that their ecclesiastical doctrine (here we are not concerned with the opinions of certain theologians) differ from Catholic doctrine rather in words than in reality, and that one can rightly call them orthodox. Leniency on such subjects leads to no harm inasmuch as we know that doc-

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trine alone is not the criterion of the true Church, called by the Ecumenical Councils *one, holy, catholic* and *apostolic,* and that on the other hand the name *catholic* which is not claimed by the orthodox and which clings to the members of the Roman Church as the shadow follows the body, is in itself a distinctive appellation."[8]

For the activity Father De Buck displayed in advancing the great cause of the unity of the Churches, he received but meager thanks, even though it was impossible to mistake the uprightness of his motives and the orthodoxy of his views which could never be impugned. The fact that he was chosen as theologian to attend the Vatican Council could not be looked upon as an invitation to defend his cherished ideas.

Occupations of this kind, and the many circumstances incident thereto, required but a small portion of Father De Buck's time, whose contributions to the *Acta Sanctorum* of October were considerable. Volume VII, published prior to his ordination to the priesthood, had already benefited by his collaboration; he is the author of the anonymous commentaries in this volume. When one recalls the unfavorable conditions under which the first volumes for October were published, especially the fifth and sixth, we cannot be

[8] *Acta SS.,* Oct., vol. X, p. 863.

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surprised that the preparation of the subsequent volumes had led to the discovery of certain omissions which it was necessary to insert later. Hence we find supplements called *Auctaria* in Volumes I, V and VI which in a great measure are the work of Father De Buck. In the other volumes beginning with the eighth, numerous commentaries, signed V. D. B., deserve notice. They are, with those of Father Carpentier, the best of this series. In nearly all of them Father V. De Buck has poured forth treasures of learning and give proof of great acumen. He is, however, at fault in one respect in that he did not react sufficiently against the tendencies of the previous generations and the exaggerated importance given by them to dissertations. His abundant knowledge naturally sought to spread itself out and he could never resist enlarging upon themes, the details of which furnished him with ample material for special investigations. In this way he accumulated, in places where the best informed scholar would never think of seeking for them, a mass of notes and facts which exhaust the subject but which have the disadvantage of making the volumes too bulky and also of introducing an element which is bound to grow rapidly out of date as learning progresses.

A discovery which does honor to his perspicac-

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ity is that of his parallelism between the Syriac Calendar of Wright and the Hieronymian martyrology, and of the light thrown by this ancient oriental document on the sources of the Latin compilation. This calendar had just been published when Father De Buck wrote:[9]

"We have known for a long time that the *Hieronymian* is compiled from a multitude of calendars, Roman, African, Asiatic and Illyrian and that this accounts for the repetition of the same saints on different days, sometimes even on the same day, but under distorted names; moreover, that the *fasti* of Constantinople are scarcely represented in it. But Wright's calendar is a key and can be used with other calendars, Syrian, Armenian, Egyptian, and also with that of Carthage, in order to serve in fathoming all the secrets of this martyrology.[10]

In an article on G. B. De Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea,* Father De Buck returns to the subject, and lays down as a principle that in a great measure it is necessary to identify the homonyms, and that before undertaking any critique of the compilation, it is essential to have before one's eyes a large number of ancient and modern calendars. He had made his arrangements accordingly.

[9] In *Journal of Sacred Literature,* N. S., vol. VIII, 1886, p. 45.

[10] *Act. SS.,* Oct., vol. XII, p. 285, n. 7.

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"Already," he said, "the Rev. Father Martinoff, at my request, has inserted in his *Annus ecclesiasticus graeco-slavicus,* at the heading of each day, accounts of saints taken from more than one hundred calendars or menologies, both Greek and Slavonian, representing the Patriarchate of Constantinople. One of my colleagues intends to do a similar work for the Patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria, and for the Armenian, Syrian and other churches. Another colleague has consented to undertake the task of examining the calendars of the Latin Patriarchate, of which we have more than a thousand, without reckoning the calendars or martyrologies of the Breton, Irish and Scotch Churches, these constituting a separate category. When all these have been examined, it will be possible to clear up almost entirely the confusions in the Hieronymian compilation. Each day appears at first sight like a mass of rubbish, but as soon as one or two authentic memoirs have been successfully separated from this congeries, the remainder of the collection explains itself as a rule quite easily."[11]

A great deal of optimism is apparent in this judgment, but it cannot be denied that the specimen of the method applied by Father De Buck to the notices of August 9 was an encouraging

[11] *Études religieuses,* August 1868, pp. 285-286.

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sign.[12] Likewise the plan of beginning the month of November, for the feast of All Saints, with a critical edition of the Hieronymian Martyrology did not seem too utopian. Circumstances and especially the death of Father De Buck's best collaborators, dashed all these hopes. With the exception of Father Martinoff's researches on graeco-slavic hagiography, the preparatory work had hardly begun and Father De Buck himself, attacked by illness, did not even see the end of the October series which he had always hoped to have well behind him by the time of his death. He died on May 23, 1876.

An episode in the hagiographical career of Father Victor De Buck, concerning one of his best works, cannot be passed over in silence, particularly because it has on several occasions been related inaccurately. In 1842, in the catacomb of Priscilla a tomb was found with the following inscription intact and clearly traced:

AVRELIAE · THEVDOSIAE ·
BENIGNISSIMAE · ET ·
INCOMPARABILI · FEMINAE
AVRELIVS · OPTATUS ·
CONIVGI · INNOCENTISSIMAE ·
DEP · PRID · KAL · DEC ·
NAT · AMBIANA ·
B · M · F ·

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 287-297.

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The presence of a phial of the form known as a blood vase, considered at that time as the characteristic sign of a martyr, gave a special significance to this discovery. Persuaded that Theudosia was a martyr from his diocese, Mgr. de Salinis, Bishop of Amiens, was able to obtain the precious relic for his cathedral, and, on October 12, 1853, in the presence of about thirty bishops and cardinals and an immense throng, the solemn translation was performed.[13] Distinguished orators rendered the ceremony still more impressive by their addresses and Mgr. Pie, in his capacity as hagiographer, commented in his sermon upon the epitaph of the wife of Aurelius Optatus.[14] Father De Buck had intended to write for a review a few pages about this occurrence, but on studying the subject, he perceived that they had proceeded on this occasion, on facts which, to say the least, were doubtful.

He felt that the time had not come to write about the new saint, for to expose the mistake would have caused a scandal. He decided to acquaint his superiors with the results of his research. They asked him to write a treatise, to

[13] Cf. *Le Livre de sainte Theudosie,* Amiens, 1854, and an article by L. Veuillot in the *Mélanges,* 2e série, vol. II, pp. 84-94.

[14] *Œuvres de l'évêque de Poitiers,* vol. II, pp. 1-10.

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be handed later to competent and qualified persons, with the object of bringing about the solution of a serious problem on which Father Mariana in 1597 had written a masterly monograph, all trace of which had vanished.[15] Mabillon in his time had treated under the pseudonym of Eusebius Romanus this same subject[16] which, ever since the labors of J. B. De Rossi, had deeply engrossed learned ecclesiastical circles. What was to be believed about the "sainted bodies" taken from the catacombs during the last three centuries and sent to different churches? Are they the remains of martyrs or only those of the faithful? Are there, in fact, any infallible signs whereby the relics of the saints may be identified? Is not the "vase of blood," found deposited in the interior or fixed to the sides of certain tombs, an undeniable proof of martyrdom? It was this last point which Father De Buck undertook to clear up in his book *De phialis rubricatis,* printed in 1855 but never offered for sale to the public—a fact which led certain persons, neither well-disposed nor well-informed, to declare that this daring book had been suppressed and destroyed by order of his superiors.

Against the hypothesis universally accepted at

[15] Analyzed in G. Cirot, *Mariana historien,* Bordeaux, 1904, pp. 53-58.

[16] *De cultu sanctorum ignotorum,* Paris, 1698.

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that time, Father De Buck adduced decisive arguments. What proof was there of the affirmation that the red sediment found at the bottom of the phial was blood rather than an oxide of iron, the result of a chemical action? Not any. What probability was there in favor of an interpretation from which such important conclusions might be drawn? Not the slightest, for it was an established fact that the translations during the eighth and ninth centuries had left but a small number of martyrs in the Catacombs. Statistics of the inscriptions established the fact that a fifth of the tombs marked by the so-called *blood-vase* were the burial place of children under seven years of age, an inadmissible proportion if it be applied to the tombs of martyrs. Further, the great majority of the tombs in question are later than the Peace of Constantine and therefore they did not hold the bodies of martyrs. These are some of the principal arguments of this demonstration which may be considered decisive against the theory that the vase of blood is a criterion of martyrdom.

A decree of the Congregation of Rites, of December 10, 1863, seemed at first sight to contradict Father De Buck. As Father De Smedt remarks,[17] this decree merely renewed the decree of

[17] Remarks on Father V. De Buck, heading vol. II of the *Acta Sanctorum* for November.

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April 10, 1668, the ambiguous wording of which seemed to avoid settling the question pro or con: "Cum in Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiis Sacrisque reliquiis praeposita de notis disceptaretur, ex quibus verae sanctorum martyrum reliquiae a falsis et dubiis dignosci possint, eadem Sacra Congregatio, re diligenter examinata, censuit palmam et vas illorum sanguine tinctum pro signis certissimis habenda esse."[18]

In other words, this decree says simply that a vase stained with the blood of martyrs proved the fact of martyrdom. In this form, it would be difficult to contest the truth of the assertion and nobody thought of contradicting it.

Father De Buck had done his duty by giving an expression of opinion as he had been requested. He did not for one instant dream of questioning the decree which several individuals were pleased in a narrow and hypercritical sense to interpret against him, nor to make the public the judge of a question which the authorities seemed to reserve to themselves. The incident was almost forgotten, when in 1867, a book appeared with the title: *De phiala cruenta indicio facti pro Christo martyrii.* Its author, Archangelo Sconamiglio, was a Roman priest, in whom Sebastian de Saint Paul, Papebroch's persecutor, seemed to be once more incar-

[18] *Analecta iuris pontificii,* vol. VII, p. 954.

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nate. To the bad faith of a pamphleteer, Sconamiglio added the unpardonable sin of attacking a work which was inaccessible to the public and which had all the characteristics of a confidential memoir. It was easy for him to misrepresent his adversary's ideas and to show his arguments in a false light, or to cast suspicion on his orthodoxy. For it was impossible to check the accuracy of his statements.

Like his illustrious predecessor, Father De Buck suffered contradiction with a good grace, but would at no price consent to remain under the accusation of heresy. He protested in a letter written to the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* of Bonn, concerning a review of Sconamiglio's book by F. X. Kraus. This scholar while professing sincere esteem for Father De Buck, had criticised his book severely, though he knew of it only from the false account given by the unscrupulous Sconamiglio.

"It is possible to refute me," wrote Father De Buck, "without injuring my reputation. And it is my good name alone that I insist on protecting, because it is as natural to defend it as I would my life. It seems to me that I must insist on being judged by what I have written. It is not enough to accept the assertions of a man who not alone passes over the most important chapters of my book but who garbles both it and the sources

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which he quotes, thus often falsifying my words and the documents in question. Moreover, as is proved by M. Kraus, he allows himself to give expression to untruths which are positively inconceivable."[19]

Father De Buck made no further reply, evincing by his reserve that horror of polemics which is a tradition of the Bollandists. This reticence was all the more meritorious since he realized that in high circles his opinion had triumphed and that a few years after the publication of *De phialis rubricatis* the Vicariate of Rome had given up the ancient practices discussed in this book.[20] A circular of January 17, 1881, which mentions the severe measures decreed on this matter by Pope Leo XIII, affirms that already for about twenty years they had ceased to take the *sainted bodies* from the catacombs to offer them for veneration by the faithful.

Even as late as the pontificate of Pius X, Father De Buck's courageous treatise continued to bear fruit. At the end of the eighteenth cen-

[19] Year 1868, no. 9, p. 487. Reproduced in the original French text by Kraus, in his work: *Die Blutampullen*, pp. 67-68.

[20] In a letter written to Father De Buck, March 10, 1860, and preserved in the Bollandist Library, De Rossi states explicitly this fact and shows that he was greatly delighted over the outcome.

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tury, the body of a woman named Fortissima, to whom the vase of blood had confirmed the title of martyr, had been transferred to the Church of Saint Mark in Rome, and these remains had never ceased to be the object of the devotion of the faithful, even though as Father De Buck had noted in his work, the consular date (389) of the epitaph ought to have been enough to prevent it.[21] The archaeological commission drew the Pontiff's attention to the fact, and he insisted that the remains of Fortissima be taken back to the Catacombs, whence they should never have been removed.

In spite of the gropings and the mistakes, at the outset, the continuation of the *Acta Sanctorum* had, under the impetus given by Father De Buck, brought new lustre to the work of Bollandus. The educated public took an interest in it, and, in 1863, a Parisian publisher had the courage to start an enterprise which, though it may well be called audacious, he succeeded in accomplishing, namely, the reprinting of the entire series. The project was encouraged by several bishops and, in one diocese where the clergy were preparing to give further valuable support to the Bollandists, an episcopal letter was issued addressed to the parish priests, recommending to

[21] *De phialis rubricatis*, p. 117.

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them the *Acta Sanctorum* which in future would be less difficult of access.[22] The circular of Mgr. David, Bishop of Saint-Brieuc, is a document showing great elevation of thought and it paid to the collaborators of the *Acta Sanctorum* an homage at once judicious and competent. In this circular a passage occurs which it is a pleasure to reproduce here, because it gives an answer to certain prejudices, not yet altogether wiped out, which, at that time, appeared occasionally in less discreet form. The allusions are easy to detect:

"I ought, however, before concluding," wrote the worthy prelate, "to say a word concerning a reproach which has been made against the Bollandists. An entirely modern school of thought finding, and perhaps rightly, some dryness and a too great severity in the writing of the second class of hagiographers, springing from the thought of the seventeenth century, have cast suspicion on the tendency of the work of the Bollandists. These authors and their followers have been called *hypercritical.* The ideal of this school of indulgent historians is to reproduce in all their charming and naïve simplicity and even

[22] *Lettre circulaire de Mgr. l'évêque de Saint-Brieuc et Tréguier sur la réimpression des Acta Sanctorum à MM. les Recteurs du diocèse.* Saint-Brieuc, 1864, 24 pages in 4°.

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in their sometimes dangerous nakedness, the legends of the Middle Ages which they do without serious examination and without scrutiny. Can we say that these legends are all of them worthy of our credence? Now that the learned, disinterested and thoroughly orthodox criticism of our Bollandists, Benedictines, Oratorians and others has investigated and rejected them, is it not our duty to proceed with extreme caution in bringing them again to the public gaze? Would it not in fact be better for scholars to acquaint themselves with the labors of these illustrious hagiographers, so as to be in a position to confront them with successful refutations? There is no use to expect this from the legendary school, for it dislikes reasoning. At times it has even spoken bitterly about human reason itself. Such an attitude, to our way of thinking, is an unfortunate exaggeration. Truth is, and will always be, for us, an object of our veneration, for God is truth. A legend may be poetic and in fact edifying; but, if conscientious criticism condemns it, let us without regret allow it to fall into oblivion, or at any rate rate let us never hand it over without reservations to the confiding layman. Let us not give to hostile or prejudiced science the chance of even a single triumph over the divine purposes of the Church. Today more than ever, it is possible for the inopportune zeal

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and the sweeping dogmatism, the unbridled haste in assertion and superficial knowledge of a few men whose incompetence is no less notorious than their good intentions, to hinder the progress of religious truth in the world."[28]

Such support as this, added to other signs of prosperity, seemed to assure the future of restored Bollandism. Thanks to distinguished benefactors, among whom must be numbered Father De Buck himself who, after the example of Papebroch, devoted to the work a part of his patrimony, thanks to the generosity of the French government which donated the series of *Documents sur l'histoire de France* and other great publications, and a liberality imitated by the British government which gave their great series of *Records,* the new library had acquired a splendid collection of works, and the principle implements for research were once more gathered together.

Scientific correspondence had been resumed and there was not a diocese which was not ready to send the Bollandists all the information they could wish for concerning local cults. The work had also at its disposal intellectual resources more important than ever, and six names, an unprecedented number, were to be found on the title page of Volume XIII for October.

[28] Circular Letter, pp. 21-22.

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But the time of trial was at hand. First, the Bollandists were affected as to their material interests and, at this time in particular, were exposed to the most serious annoyances. In parliament it happened that an opponent of the Bollandists made it his business to object even to the small subsidy allowed them by the State. For nine long years, he persisted in his effort against them, renewing his attacks at every discussion on the budget for which he refused to vote because of the continuance of the subsidy. This opposition was all the more surprising for the reason, as a certain writer pointed out, that this very deputy in his *Histoire populaire de la Belgique,* had highly praised the collection of the *Acta Sanctorum.*[24]

We will leave the duty of judging his campaign to an impartial observer:

"In 1860, says M. Aubé, "several deputies proposed to strike out the subsidy of 6000 francs apportioned to the Bollandist College, because in their opinion, it was a futile outlay which helped to propagate ideas of a bygone age, and to glorify saints who were foreign to them. The debate which took place on this occasion seems not to have shown the loftiness and breadth of view which disinterested readers could have hoped for. The matter and the manner of the speeches then

[24] H. de Nimal in *Revue générale,* vol. XLI, 1885, p. 212.

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delivered were on both sides lamentably mediocre. Among the opposition, arguments worthy of shopkeepers making up their expense accounts, not willing to give anything to intellectual pursuits. They spoke showing an unintelligent and dull appreciation of the Acts of the Saints and interspersed their remarks with jests of doubtful good taste and gave vent to a third-rate Voltairianism. On the government side, an absolute want of self-restraint, violent personalities, awkward and clumsy apologies for frivolous legends which were claimed as inviolable and as forming part of the faith of the majority of the country.

"The subsidy was maintained. Four years later, when the question was again brought up and attacked by the same party, the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum* was this time defended with more firmness and authority and the allowance remained on the books of the budget. Belgium did herself honor in protecting this work which is of much more than national scope. It is hard to believe, moreover, that the continuation of this great monument could have perished for want of the paltry subsidy, around which so much violent strife raged."[25]

M. Aubé was unaware of some of the details of this dispute and, above all, of the end of the story. From the moment of the first attacks, the

[25] *Revue des Deux Mondes,* March 1, 1885, p. 197.

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voices of those best qualified to speak had been raised in defense of the *Acta Sanctorum*. The librarians of the British Museum, F. Madden, E. A. Bond, S. Winter Jones, also the celebrated editor of the *Monumenta Germaniae*, F. Pertz, in published letters, and Mgr. De Ram, in a detailed report,[26] had set forth motives of a scientific order which should have enlightened unprejudiced minds and put an end to these petty attacks. In 1869, M. Hymans and his friends returned for the last time to the onslaught, and in spite of excellent speeches by MM. Thonissen and Dumortier, supported by MM. Pirmez and C. Rogier, the perseverance of the opposition worthy of a better cause, met with success and the majority voted for the suppression of the subsidy. The work, which could only meet its expenses by practicing severe economy, was hard hit by this reduction of its revenues and it became more difficult than ever to execute certain reforms which seemed necessary but which would have increased the expenses. One of these plans was the resumption of literary journeys, now more important than ever, which they had been obliged to restrict as far as possible.

Unfortunately, even greater misfortunes

[26] *Les Nouveaux Bollandistes, rapport fait à la Commission royale d'histoire* in the *Bulletin de la Commission*, 3e série, vol. II. 74 pages.

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threatened the very existence of the undertaking. The ranks of the collaborators were stricken repeatedly by death, with the result that three were lost in the space of four years. Father V. De Buck, who returned ill from the Council, was obliged to give up his work, and died in his turn, leaving all the weight of the work on shoulders that were too weak to sustain it. For about sixteen years, there was an absolute eclipse of the Bollandist undertaking. The crisis would have been fatal, if Father De Buck had not found in Father Charles De Smedt a worthy successor.

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CHAPTER VIII

REORGANIZATION

The last phase of the Bollandist work brings us into the midst of contemporary history, and the fact that the present generation has played its part in the reorganization inaugurated by Father De Smedt necessarily forces us to maintain a certain reserve, but upon which we need not dwell any further. It will therefore be sufficient for our purpose to set before our readers a simple account of the operations of the work during this period.

When, in 1876, Father De Smedt was called to Brussels to fill the gap caused by the death of Father De Buck, he was engaged in teaching Church History in the College at Louvain. Some years previously he had published in the *Études religieuses* several valuable articles, afterwards issued in book-form under the title: *Principes de la critique historique.* A little later he prepared a comprehensive introduction to ecclesiastical history which, in turn, was to be followed by a series of treatises on certain selected questions. Only the first volume, *Dissertationes in*

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primam aetatem ever appeared in print. The others were, however, in part reproduced for the use of his students.

During the years of his professorship, Father De Smedt had followed closely the progress of historical methods and the extraordinary development of research in every domain of learning. He had long seen how much the work of the Bollandists stood to gain if it were only pursued along the lines then recently marked out for such labors. As early as 1870, realizing that the scheme of reform he judged necessary had no chance of succeeding just at that juncture, he had declined the invitation extended to him to aid in the work. His being called upon for a second time was thus an acknowledgment of the correctness of his views. In fact, since the resumption of the enterprise it was impossible not to see that, little by little, working conditions had undergone a complete change. Libraries and archives were now everywhere thrown open to the workers, and other facilities, hitherto unknown, were afforded them. Catalogues and lists were multiplied and the fatigue of a journey was no longer looked upon as a sufficient excuse for failing to consult any important manuscript. Historical studies, more properly organized in the universities and in the schools of the country, had helped to spread a knowledge of the methods

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of procedure and to bring them to perfection. It was, day by day, coming to be better understood that a well-authenticated text must be the necessary starting-point for all serious historical research. Moreover, new branches of knowledge were just then being broadly developed, and the study of comparative literatures attracted attention to documents heretofore treated with contempt. Not to renew their youth, therefore, would have meant for the Bollandists exposed to languish and die amid the indifference of the rising generation a position of evident inferiority. There remained, still in manuscript, a volume for the month of October, the thirteenth and last, compiled and written according to the old methods. Father De Smedt proposed simply to give the required final touches and to date the reform with the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*. This plan was agreed to and he began at once the preparation of the new series with the assistance of two new collaborators, Father William Van Hooff and Father Joseph De Backer. After rendering faithful services, both these scholars were obliged to lay down their pens in order to devote themselves exclusively to the work of the ministry.

The first volume appeared in 1887. To the eye of the layman nothing distinguishes it from those that preceded. The general arrangement is pre-

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served and the appearance of the *Day* is the same as in the former volumes. Yet it is marked by two important changes. The first consists in giving the Acts of the saints under all the forms in which they are found in the manuscripts, without regard to their historical value. Interpolated, apocryphal or fabulous Acts are in no wise excluded. The literary point of view is the one resolutely adopted, and we now see, methodically applied, the principle accepted by the former Bollandists, but to which they often hesitated to adhere rigidly in practice, namely, to reproduce all the written documents relating to the saint, together with an accurate indication of the exact scope and import of each. Thus Saint Hubert is presented in seven Lives, differing considerably one from another, of which the respective value of each is fixed by the commentary, and we are thus enabled to follow the evolution of the saint's biography.

The second change is apparent in the system of editing the texts. The hagiographers are no longer satisfied with a small number of manuscripts which favorable circumstances have placed within their reach. Their aim is to examine them all, to try to classify them and to discuss in great detail their variant readings.[1] We have said that

[1] The following lines may interest the reader. They were written by Mgr. Duchesne shortly after the ap-

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they try to classify them, for very often, in hagiography, the special character of the manuscript tradition renders strict classification quite misleading.

These two essential points are observed in the

pearance of Volume I for November: "Within the last few days," he says, "I happened to mention the *Acta Sanctorum* to a very distinguished scholar. He interrupted me with: 'Please, don't talk to me of the Bollandists, I cannot endure them!' 'Why not?' 'Because they are critical.' 'It is with this stigma that everybody reproaches them,' I replied. 'For some, their criticism is too timid, for others it goes too far. Many learned men are of the latter opinion. Not that generally speaking these same scholars are at all disposed to shed tears over the havoc wrought among the traditions of hagiography; what they regret is that in many cases the learned editors of the *Acta* felt bound to exclude from their great series, certain productions, apocryphal indeed, but curious and interesting from the point of view of literature, of art and even of history.'

"'As regards this last point there will, henceforth, be no further room for regret, at least as long as the compilers are animated with the spirit that has inspired the plan of this first November volume. Not only has no legendary text been excluded, but an attempt has been made to bring together and classify all known editions of each legend. Nor have those texts been published until all available manuscripts were drawn upon and until all variant readings were examined and compared, until, in a word, all the resources of textual criticism have been utilized. The old narratives of the Lives of the saints are here treated with a pious regard and with

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subsequent volumes and this will always be the case in the future. In the *Acta Sanctorum* the more nearly technique approaches perfection and the more rigorously philological methods are adhered to, the more the whole series gains in value. As the number of documents tends to grow greater, the proportion of the volumes will certainly not tend to diminish, so that the final completion of the work cannot be hurried. The obligation imposed by the compilers on themselves of becoming acquainted with a vast number of manuscripts often scattered far apart, with the consequent necessity of collating a considerable number, entails no small labor, and this is still further increased, owing to the order of the Calendar, by the impossibility of grouping them. Hence the preparation of a volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* will, in future, be incomparably more arduous than in the past and the happy days are gone by when a single Bollandist was able to put his name to eighteen folio tomes.

The inconvenient proportions of these books, ponderous as they are and difficult to manipulate, is at once apparent. Hence the idea was bound to occur of producing others less bulky, and, with-

no less reverence, though differing of course in its manifestation, than that of the copyists and illuminators who lavished upon them all the resources of their art in the splendid parchment volumes of the Middle Ages.'" *Bulletin critique*, vol. IX, 1888, p. 201.

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out abandoning the main series now too far advanced to admit of any radical modification, of issuing side by side with it volumes in a form easier to handle and capable of being published less expensively. The need for a supplementary series was felt all the more, as by that means the Bollandists would be enabled to publish from time to time numbers of interesting documents which did not belong to the dates to be included in forthcoming volumes and which accumulated unceasingly in the drawers of their desks. Most of these seemed reserved for that far-off day when the decision would be taken to recast the main series or to publish the elaborate supplements anticipated even in his day by Papebroch. Moreover, owing to the absence of such a supplementary series, it had heretofore been necessary to burden the *Acta* with too many introductory and other accessory data. There remained therefore no other medium for the publication of general studies, to which the *Acta* were, indeed, but ill adapted, though the need for such treatises was felt more and more with ever-increasing urgency.

This want has been met by the *Analecta Bollandiana* which has appeared as a quarterly review since 1882. The idea was to publish in this journal inedited or amended texts, by way of supplement to the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* already completed, and to draw the attention of the

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public to the new documents which research in the libraries has succeeded in bringing to light. There was space also for monographs, descriptions of manuscripts, catalogues, in a word, for documents of all kinds that might in any way be of service to critical hagiography.

The *Analecta* inspired as it was by the scientific principles which were destined henceforth to guide the main work, was favorably received by the learned world. It was felt that it constituted an indispensable supplement to the *Acta Sanctorum* and success was assured practically from the beginning. The regular editors of this journal were Bollandists, but they gladly accepted contributions sent them by scholars of all countries. We may mention, as among the best known from France: M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Mgr. Duchesne, Mgr. Batiffol, M. Max Bonnet, Canon Ulysse Chevalier, Mgr. Petit, now Archbishop of Athens, M. Pfister; from Italy: E, Martini, Mgr. G. Mercati, Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, Father Savio; from England: Father Thurston and Mr. Charles Plummer; from Ireland: Father Edmund Hogan; from Germany: Herr B. Krusch and Herr H. Usener; from Russia: E. Kurtz; from Belgium: Mgr. Abbeloos, M. G. Kurth, M. F. Cumont.

The advance in historical studies and the ever-increasing general literature gave rise to a num-

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ber of studies connected with hagiography. Side by side with works of pure edification or with monographs that aimed at scientific precision, there began to appear texts of *Lives* of saints produced according to the latest critical methods; doctorate theses on subjects taken from this field of learning, to say nothing of works of a more general scope which were often of great service. All these the Bollandists were by their profession obliged to read and they felt that they ought to communicate to their subscribers the fruits of their reading. Furthermore, they had in justice to apply to contemporary literature of this kind a criticism analogous to the critical examination of ancient texts. These are the considerations that led to the inclusion of a bibliographical section in each number of the *Analecta*. From the tenth volume on, that is from 1891, the *Bulletin des publications hagiographiques* aims to keep the reader of the *Analecta* abreast of scientific progress in its relation to the Acts of the saints. The editors endeavor to give an exact summary and in impartial appreciation of each work and, while avoiding everything calculated to discourage youthful talent or good intention, they point out the faults which their historical training enables them readily to discover. The *Bulletin*, far from being for them a source of unalloyed joy, is rather a chain that grows heavier with

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each succeeding link. Moreover, the *genus irritabile* being, as yet, by no means extinct, the free criticism of the editors often brings down upon their heads something quite other than blessings..

The study of manuscripts is the foundation of scientific work; and as it was towards this study that the principal efforts of the new Bollandists were directed, the detailed and systematic examination of libraries held a foremost place in all their thoughts and projects. With this end in view, they determined to undertake an inventory of the manuscript treasures, connected with the *Lives* of the saints, contained in the libraries not only of Europe, but wherever such manuscripts were to be found. This phase of their activity, which will be continued as far as their means allow, has given rise to the series of *Catalogi codicum hagiographicorum.* Such of these catalogues as do not exceed a certain length find their place in the *Analecta,* but when too voluminous, they are published separately. The first catalogue to appear in the *Analecta* was that of the municipal library of Namur, and there is scarcely a number of the review that does not contain some work of this sort. The second series of the *Catalogi* began with two volumes devoted exclusively to the Latin manuscripts of the Royal Library of Brussels. These were followed by lists of the Latin manuscripts in the National Library of

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Paris, in four volumes, and of those in the private library of the Emperor of Austria. Then came inventories of the Greek manuscripts of the National Library of Paris and of the Vatican Library, also of the Latin manuscripts of the Roman Libraries apart from the Vatican, then those of the Vatican, likewise lists of the Greek manuscripts in the libraries of Germany, Belgium and England. These catalogues have all been drawn up on the same plan. The manuscripts have been examined, folio by folio, and all hagiographical documents have been not merely noted but identified, if already published. Added by way of appendix to nearly every catalogue are inedited texts discovered in the course of these explorations.

To avoid surcharging the catalogues with needless repetitions, and in order to render them more serviceable, the want soon made itself felt of an index which should specify accurately the hagiographical documents already printed and known to be scattered in numberless publications. Such an index would, besides, be most useful in various other ways, and would enable students to undertake general studies which presuppose a complete inventory of printed sources. This new task was accordingly undertaken and thousands of volumes were gone through. The first result of this labor was the *Bibliotheca hagiographica*

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graeca, published in 1895. The urgency of the need it supplied is best gauged by its success. Though naturally intended for a very limited and highly specialized group of readers, the first edition was soon exhausted and a second became necessary. This appeared in 1909. A comparison of the two editions is exceedingly instructive from the point of view of the statistics of scientific hagiography. The number of these Greek texts which have been published in recent years is enormous and shows the keen interest taken in university circles in a branch of literature long treated with neglect. One distinctively important result made itself evident in this edition of catalogues of manuscripts. Simeon Metaphrastes was undoubtedly at once the most famous and yet the least known personality in all hagiography. He was met with everywhere, but his identity required constant verification, and the vexed question always came up as to what ones among a number of anonymous texts were really his. Unfortunately, no full criteria had ever been at hand to facilitate arriving at a reliable decision, and writers often made up their minds according to the vaguest indications, as if to rid themselves of a troublesome character. Detailed research among the Greek menologies now enables writers to recognize with ease the collection of documents grouped round the name

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of Metaphrastes, and also to reconstitute this collection document by document. The *Synopsis Metaphrastica* with which the new *Bibliotheca* concludes, sums up this work of reconstruction.

The *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina,* the printing of which began in 1898 and was finished in 1901, is a work far more voluminous. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say, that no library in the world possesses all the texts that are registered therein. After the work of sifting the titles from entire collections and from single monographs had been completed, which alone demanded several years, the arduous task of classification was begun. In a considerable number of cases, it was found necessary to have recourse to the manuscripts, in order to establish the intermediary stages, or to identify documents known by mere extracts. A few years later a supplement was found necessary. It consists of no less than three hundred and fifty pages, and enriched as it is with a list of authors, it is certain to prove of the very greatest utility. One of the longest articles in the *Bibliotheca* is that on *Maria Virgo.* It would have assumed far too great proportions had the compilers taken into account the numberless miracles of the Virgin to be met with in the collections and in the isolated manuscripts. Besides, it was thought that the work of preliminary investigation was still insufficient, and to complete

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it would have meant an indefinite postponement of the entire *Bibliotheca.* The enormous mass of literature bearing on the miracles was therefore excluded from this article, but it was indexed for the time being in the twenty-first volume of the *Analecta* under the rubric: *Miraculorum B. V. Mariae quae saec. VI-XV latine conscripta sunt index postea perficiendus.* Father Poncelet who deemed it incomplete, has succeeded so far in bringing together close on eighteen hundred miracles, and in giving to workers in this field one of the most valuable guides to sacred literature of the Latin Middle Ages in existence.

In 1910 appeared the *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis,* the indispensable starting-point for the work of the Bollandists as applied to the Eastern Church, and no less necessary for the study of general hagiography. This catalogue follows the lines of its predecessors and gives the result of exhaustive searching through all the publications of such Armenian, Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopian texts as the compilers could possibly reach. For the moment, the Georgian literature had perforce to be omitted. It was impossible to treat it with the same fullness as the others without having at least visited the libraries of St. Petersburg and Tiflis, and a law then rigorously enforced excluded all Jesuits from Russian territory.

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The number of works published separately and apart from the *Analecta*—we must add to their number the *Repertorium Hymnologicum* of Canon Ulysse Chevalier—became sufficiently important to constitute a new series with the title of *Subsidia hagiographica.* It comprises at the present moment twenty volumes, and others are in contemplation.

We have mentioned the obstacles encountered by Father V. De Buck in the realization of his plans regarding the Hieronymian martyology. At his death, he had to be satisfied with having published one single manuscript, one of the best it is true, and the text of the *Bernensis* had found a place in the thirteenth volume for October, there to await the time when means and leisure could be secured for the preparation of a critical edition. But no one was able to say when that day would come. Were the Bollandists to delay indefinitely a publication absolutely necessary to any writer who should wish to make a thorough study of the Christian antiquities? Two distinguished scholars, who honored the Bollandists with their friendship, had on hand the requisite materials. The Bollandists consented to set them to work upon these materials, and thereby enrich the *Acta Sanctorum* with a study which those two men alone were capable of successfully accomplishing. They were requested to begin

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the work, and did not hesitate to do so. In this way it came about that the long-wished for edition of the martyrology of Saint Jerome, by J. B. Rossi and Mgr. Duchesne, appeared in the second volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for November.

Among the books most frequently quoted in works on the Lives of the Greek saints is the Synaxary of Constantinople. Yet it was barely known to scholars except by extracts and by short notices in the menologies and, in all this literature represented by a great number of manuscripts, there reigned the greatest confusion. The publication of the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae,* that is to say, the text of the Synaxary of Sirmond with excerpts from other copies, was designed to fill the gap. It appeared in 1902, in a separate volume forming part of the principal series, under the title of *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris.*

On March 4, 1911, died, full of years and good works, that venerable man Father de Smedt who was the master of the last generation and whose qualities of mind and heart had so signally contributed to breathe new life and vigor into the work of the Bollandists at a moment when the deadness of lethargy threatened it. In 1895, responding to the congratulations of his friends who had come together to celebrate his nomina-

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tion as correspondent of the Institute of France, he judged that too much praise was attributed to him for his share in the work; so turning towards his fellow-workers, he recalled the well-known saying: *"Je suis leur chef, donc je dois les suivre."* And in his mouth, this was no mere witticism. He could, in fact, with perfect justice claim that he had never discouraged any initiative on the part of his colleagues, and that he was not one of those men who never accept an idea unless they are convinced that it has originated with themselves. "Aside from this reservation," he went on, "there remains the testimony rendered by the first scientific body of Europe to the work at the head of which the privilege of old age has placed me. Of this testimony, without compunction or any fear of offence to the saints, I may well feel proud and rejoice over it as being a signal honor for our great work, for the religious Order to which it belongs and to which I owe all that I am, and also for our beloved little country in which it originated and where it has flourished. Nay, I shall even venture to say that the work deserves this honor, by the principles it represents and which it most jealously puts into practice. To seek and proclaim historical truth, and nothing but historical truth, in face of the contradictions, the outbursts of anger and other annoyances of various kinds which the

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candid expression of this truth often evokes, and to omit nothing which may lead to the attainment of this truth—such is our constant, our only preoccupation."[2]

Without doing injustice to anyone soever, we may truly say that, apart from Father De Smedt, no man has rendered greater service to the work of the Bollandists than Father Albert Poncelet, who, within less than a year, was destined to follow him to the grave. Rarely has health so feeble been combined with such assiduity and such unselfishness for the promotion of the work round which centered all his thoughts. Entirely engrossed in consolidating the scientific foundations of hagiography and in guaranteeing to the publications of the Bollandists a place of honor, he sacrificed to these general interests his time and his own special studies. Though it was begun by Father De Smedt, the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* owed to Father Poncelet its final form, and we know what it cost him to forge this instrument which will necessarily always be the first work to put into the hands of anyone wishing to become a hagiographer. He rightly attached the greatest importance to the continuation of the series of the catalogues of hagiographical

[2] *Souvenir de la manifestation organisée à Bruxelles le 1er avril 1895, en l'honneur du P. Charles De Smedt*, p. 14.

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manuscripts and was about to set out on an expedition intended to embrace the most important of the Italian libraries. Hardly, however, had he reached Montpellier, when he was stricken by death, in the prime of life and at the height of his intellectual powers.

The field of Bollandist studies, already extended by the development of the study of Eastern hagiography, had, in recent years, received still further expansion by the addition to the Library of a Slavonic section. The Russian Jesuits, John Gagarine, John Martinoff, Eugene Balabine and Paul Pierling had in 1871 founded in Paris a special library, under the name of the Slavonic Museum of Saints Cyril and Methodius, designed to spread the knowledge of the affairs of their country and to help on the project for church unity which was engaging the interests of so many noble minds. The principal part of this collection consisted of works on history, liturgy and the proceedings of learned academies. Growing methodically for a period of twenty years, the Museum at length attained remarkable proportions. Then came upon France the evil days of the dispersal of the religious congregations. It was at this time that Father Pierling, the last survivor of the Russian group, seeing his beloved library threatened with the fate of so many others, recalled the long-standing relations that existed

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between the Slavonic Jesuits and the Bollandists of Brussels and determined to send his books to Belgium, adding to the Bollandist Library the Museum of Saints of Cyril and Methodius.

It is not for us to pass judgment on the result of the efforts made in recent years to bring the *Acta Sanctorum* up to the level of the requirements of modern scientific methods. The unanimity with which the academies and the principal learned societies of all countries have enrolled the new school of Bollandists among the number of their corresponding members may be regarded as an approval of their tendencies and of their methods of work. The editors of the *Acta Sanctorum* find also the very greatest encouragement in the services freely rendered them by the authorities of the great libraries, among which they are glad to give a foremost place to the National Library of Paris and the British Museum.[3] The great masters of historical science, too, have stamped the Bollandist work with the seal of their approval. Besides many others, we might quote Leopold Delisle in his frequent reviews of their chief publications,[4] K. Krumbacher, the regener-

[3] The Bollandists felt bound to express their gratitude to this great scientific establishment by dedicating to M. Leopold Delisle, director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, 1902.

[4] For instance, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*,

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ator of Byzantine studies,[5] A. Harnack[6] and C. H. Turner,[7] two great specialists in primitive Christian literature, and Mgr. Duchesne, our most illustrious representative of ecclesiastical studies.[8]

vol. LI, p. 532; *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions,* 1893, p. 368; 1901, p. 860; *Journal des Savants,* 1898, p. 744; 1900, p. 200.

[5] *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* vol. IX, 1900, p. 573; vol. XII, 1903, p. 675.

[6] *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur,* vol. II, 2, p. 463; *Theologische Literaturzeitung,* vol. XXVIII, 1903, p. 300.

[7] "Of all literary undertakings which the European world has known, the *Acta Sanctorum* must certainly have had the longest continuous history. . . . Hagiography had earned an ill notoriety as a department of history, but within the last fifty years so complete a revolution has been effected in the principles and methods of the *Acta Sanctorum,* that an ordinary historian, paradoxical as it may sound, is likely to prove a more lenient judge of the historical value of the hagiographical material than the Bollandist Fathers. The keynote of the new development was struck by Pères De Buck and De Smedt, and the quarterly publication of the *Analecta Bollandiana* begun in 1882, carries out in detail the business of amplification and rectification. When one reflects on the gigantic nature of their task and on the fewness of their members—they are seldom more than four or five, and they have recently lost Père C. De Smedt and Père A. Poncelet—the net result can only be pronounced astonishing."

[8] See above, p. 209. See also *Bulletin critique,* vol. X and XI, 1890, pp. 121-125. and *Analecta Bollandiana,* vol. XXX, 1911, p. x.

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The following is the judgment passed by M. Auguste Molinier on the work entire: "It is quite unnecessary to sound at any length the praises of an undertaking so universally appreciated. From the very first volumes the critical spirit was manifest and Bollandus, Papebroch and Henschenius show with regard to certain unfounded legends a severity equal to that of the laity. Later on, this critical attitude grows somewhat weaker. It has been noted that in particular volumes published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, too much leniency was displayed in regard to a number of crude fables, but, taken as a whole, the work does no small honor to the Order which has had the courage to assume the burden of a task of such enormous difficulty. Today, moreover, the purely scientific character of the undertaking is again becoming more and more accentuated, both in the last volumes of the main series, which comply fully with all the demands of the most exacting of modern critics, and also in a collateral publication, the *Analecta Bollandiana,* a hagiographical review of the very first rank."[9]

We cannot pass over in silence a reproach brought against the modern Bollandists in circles

[9] *Les sources de l'histoire de France,* vol. V, 1904, pp. clxiii-clxiv. In connection with the *Analecta,* M. Salomon Reinach expresses a similar opinion, *Revue archéologique,* 1895, vol. II, p. 228.

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which are undoubtedly sympathetic, but in which the present conditions of scientific research are not taken sufficiently into account.

There is no gainsaying the fact that, as the folio volumes succeed one another, they tend to appear at rarer intervals. The first Bollandists cultivated virgin soil of unlimited fertility, into which, consequently, it sufficed simply to drop the seed. At the present day, the ground must be dug to a greater depth and the soil has to be prepared with the most minute care. In the early times, the documents commanded attention by their very novelty, and the general conditions of scientific work did not permit of the opening up, in regard to each, of practically unlimited horizons. Nowadays, this is no longer the case, and the progress of critical methods in every domain gives rise at each moment to new problems, the solution of which can in no way be deferred. Often too, in connection with a given text it becomes necessary to range over the whole world, should it happen to be one of those, by no means few in number, that have penetrated everywhere. If other scholars have known of it, as is frequently the case, the modern investigator cannot afford to remain in ignorance as to what they have thought of it. He must also, before he sets down his own conclusions, take into account the judgments of other learned men which he will find

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scattered here and there through the course of a score of volumes. These opinions he must evaluate, if they are worth consideration. If they are not, he is forced to close the book and to confess with regret that he has wasted his time in perusing them. In a word, it is absolutely essential that the texts be established and elucidated by the aid of every possible resource within control and that anything written concerning them in the way of a treatise should represent the sum total of all constructive effort no matter who the contributors may be or where they labored. For this reason therefore, a commentary that in former times could have been composed with the help of but a handful of volumes would necessitate in these days an entire library. If only it were practicable to estimate how much the stupendous productivity of the last one hundred years has added to the historical and religious literature studies connected with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a much clearer idea would obtain in the mind of the public as to the immensity of the task devolving upon scholars in the special field of critical hagiography.

It is not true to say that the collateral studies undertaken side by side with the *Acta Sanctorum* are an additional obstacle to the early completion of the series. On the contrary, they are forced upon the compilers as the only means of clearing

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the ground, not to mention the fact that they often allow them to anticipate the volumes that are yet to appear. In this way many saints, still awaiting their turn for publication, have summaries of their Lives already half completed in the *Analecta* and in the *Subsidia*. It is, after all, a matter of comparative indifference whether the results of investigation accumulate in folios rather than in volumes more easily handled, or whether one series is being regularly elaborated rather than another. What really does matter is that science is advancing, and these preliminary studies of a more technical character unquestionably contribute much to this end.

To realize the cogency of this last statement, one has but to cast a glance over the list of the theses presented in the universities throughout the world during the last twenty years. The number of hagiographical subjects is considerable and is in strange contrast to the utter contempt formerly affected towards this branch of literature. The Bollandists do not indeed pretend to have originated this movement which manifold circumstances, combined together, are left to explain. One fact is incontrovertible and that is that elaborate lists and indices like the *Bibliotheca hagiographica* have had their share in encouraging it. For they have placed within the reach of a greater number of students materials hitherto

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scarcely accessible. And as the groups of workers are multiplied, it is hard to see how a very considerable scientific advance should not result.

We may be pardoned for saying a few words as to the situation in which the work of the Bollandists finds itself at the close of the great upheaval that has shaken to their foundations so many institutions.

At the outbreak of the war many publications were in preparation, many others in prospect; a volume of supplements to the *Acta Sanctorum,* consisting for the most part of Greek texts omitted from preceding volumes; the fourth volume for November; volumes seven and eight of the *Acta Sanctorum Belgii;* in the *Subsidia,* a volume devoted to the Acts of the stylite saints; an analytical bibliography of the Greek rituals (ἀκολουθίαι), collected by His Grace Mgr. Petit, Archbishop of Athens; the catalogue of the Latin hagiographical manuscripts in Munich, as also the catalogues of similar manuscripts in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

It is hardly necessary to say that, one by one, these works have had to be abandoned. For more than four long years Belgium was an immense prison, wherein scientific work, as also every other kind of activity, was stifled by a system of atrocious oppression. Cut off from all communication with the countries that supply the Bol-

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landists the raw material for their work; so situated that it was impossible for them to keep pace with scientific publications or to obtain the most necessary information; subjected in every detail to the strictest surveillance and, for the slightest bit of any kind of writing, to a censorship at once incompetent and vexatious, the editors of the *Acta Sanctorum* were soon reduced to a state of almost complete inaction. In vain did they seek to get permission for at least one of their number to go and procure new data for their work from documents in a neighboring country, still in touch with the civilized world. Six different times, the request for such privilege was met by curt refusal. If, during this régime of dull confinement, it had been at all possible to secure the benefits of even moderate tranquillity, it would perhaps have been endurable. But unless they were dead to every human feeling, what peace of mind could those enjoy who daily witnessed the incredible hardships inflicted on the whole population, and the numberless outrages against justice and the rights of man? Moreover, every citizen felt himself entangled in a perfect network of regulations which even the most peaceably disposed violated repeatedly each day, and knew well that he was at the mercy of a legion of spies and police who needed but the flimsiest pretext to enter unbidden into private

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homes. Several times the College which shelters the Bollandists received visits from these emissaries of the invaders, authorized to penetrate even into the bedrooms and to search the persons of the occupants and to seize their papers, thereby throwing everything into disorder. Needless to say, the Library was not respected. For the space of several hours, uncouth and ruthless officials smoking their cigars, at the risk of setting the whole place on fire, engaged in their favorite occupation and carried off, without so much as notifying the owners, all that seemed to them worth taking, including a manuscript already prepared for publication in the *Acta Sanctorum*. After these searches, came fines and imprisonments, penalties which no man could hope to avoid without feeling in his conscience the reproach of being an accomplice in an intolerable tyranny. Far be it from us, however, to regret having shared the fate of so many of our fellow-countrymen, guilty only of having refused to lend a hand in the enslavement of their homeland. We have been impelled to state what the occupation meant to us, and what were its natural consequences in the domain of scientific study.

Seriously hampered as it was in its material interests as well as in its intellectual activities, the Bollandist Society had still further trials to undergo. The one among its members who

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seemed best fitted to pass unscathed through that time of stress, succumbed to the cruel ordeal. On the 20th of September 1912, Father Francis Van Ortroy, whose health had been failing for months, was snatched from the circle of his colleagues and of his many friends. A year later, to the day, Father Joseph De Backer died. He had, it is true, some years before, renounced all work on hagiography, yet is was a source of great sorrow to those who survived him to lose this excellent man, the last of the generation that founded the *Analecta Bollandiana*.

Peace, the harbinger of hope, brought to us in its train consolations which no one could fail to appreciate profoundly. The barriers that had shut us off from the rest of the world had not yet been entirely removed when, from France, England and Italy came to us spontaneous proofs of a friendship that had remained constant despite separation, misfortune and daily anxieties of the most poignant nature. That devotion, on which we can henceforth depend, gives us every reason to hope that the work has not permanently lost its former prosperity, and that, on the threshold of a future which is still uncertain, it will find the assistance so urgently needed for its recovery.

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CHAPTER IX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The total output of the Bollandist publications is very considerable. This fact, together with the circumstance that their general arrangement is somewhat complicated, may at times cause difficulties to readers who wish to consult them and sometimes even to the librarians who are asked to find them. Some information as to the different series and their editions, and as to the best way of consulting them may therefore be of service. Setting aside the detailed bibliography of Rosweyde, which has been given above,[1] we shall divide our survey into five headings, dealing succesively with the *Acta Sanctorum,* the *Analecta Bollandiana,* the *Subsidia Hagiographica,* the chief hagiographical works of the Bollandists not included under the foregoing headings; and finally some publications which we shall call "pseudo-Bollandist," and about which the public is not sufficiently well informed.

A. *Acta Sanctorum*

Three editions of the *Acta Sanctorum* have appeared: the original edition, begun at Antwerp;

[1] Pp. 9-21 *supra.* Cf. De Backer-Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,* vol. VII, pp. 190-207.

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the Venice edition; the Paris edition. These three editions have none of them adopted a consecutive system of numbering the volumes.[2] Each month forms a distinct series consisting of two or more volumes. As the reprints have not always followed the division of the original edition quotations referring, for example, to Vol. VIII of the series would be insufficient. In the original edition this volume corresponds to the third volume for March, in the Paris edition to the second volume for March, and so on. In order to avoid all confusion, therefore, it is necessary to quote the month, the volume, and the edition. Let us point out how the various editions are made up.

1. The Original Edition

This edition consists of fifty volumes printed at Antwerp, one volume printed at Tongerloo, and thirteen volumes besides the *Auctaria*, printed at Brussels:

January	Vol. I	Antwerp	1643	Days	1 to 15
	Vol. II	"	1643	"	16 to 31
February	Vol. I	"	1648	"	1 to 6
	Vol. II	"	"	"	7 to 16
	Vol. III	"	"	"	17 to 29

[2] The volumes of the Paris edition have a number on the cover.

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March	Vol. I	Antwerp	1668	Days	1 to 8
	Vol. II	"	"	"	9 to 18
	Vol. III	"	"	"	19 to 31
April	Vol. I	"	1675	"	1 to 10
	Vol. II	"	"	"	11 to 21
	Vol. III	"	"	"	22 to 30
May	Vol. I	"	1680	"	1 to 5
	Vol. II	"	"	"	5 to 11
	Vol. III	"	"	"	12 to 16
	Vol. IV	"	1685	"	17 to 19
	Vol. V	"	"	"	20 to 24
	Vol. VI	"	1688	"	25 to 28
	Vol. VII	"	"	"	29 to 31
Propylaeum Maii		"	"		

This last volume, containing the *Conatus chronologico-historicus ad catalogum Romanorum pontificum* is composed of several parts almost all distributed along with the preceding volumes.

June	Vol. I	Antwerp	1695	Days 1 to 6
	Vol. II	"	1698	" 7 to 15
	Vol. III	"	1701	" 16 to 19
	Vol. IV	"	1707	" 20 to 24
	Vol. V	"	1709	" 25 to 30
	Vol. VI	"	1715	Appendix and first section of the martyrology of Usuard.
	Vol. VII	"	1717	Appendix and second section of same.

The latter portions of Volumes VI and VII together form the *Martyrologium Usuardi*, the work of J. B. Sollerius.

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July	Vol. I	Antwerp	1719	Days	1 to 3
	Vol. II	"	1721	"	4 to 9
	Vol. III	"	1723	"	10 to 14
	Vol. IV	"	1725	"	15 to 19
	Vol. V	"	1727	"	20 to 24
	Vol. VI	"	1729	"	25 to 28
	Vol. VII	"	1731	"	29 to 31
August	Vol. I	"	1733	"	1 to 4
	Vol. II	"	1733	"	5 to 12
	Vol. III	"	1735	"	13 to 19
	Vol. IV	"	1737	"	20 to 24
	Vol. V	"	1739	"	25 to 26
	Vol. VI	"	1743	"	27 to 31
September	Vol. I	Antwerp	1746	"	1 to 3
	Vol. II	"	1748	"	4 to 6
	Vol. III	"	1750	"	7 to 11
	Vol. IV	"	1753	"	12 to 14
	Vol. V	"	1755	"	15 to 18
	Vol. VI	"	1757	"	19 to 24
	Vol. VII	"	1760	"	25 to 28
	Vol. VIII	"	1762	"	29 to 30
October	Vol. I	"	1765	"	1 to 2
	Vol. II	"	1768	"	3 to 4
	Vol. III	"	1770	"	5 to 7
	Vol. IV	Brussels	1780	"	8 to 9
	Vol. V	"	1786	"	10 to 11
	Vol. VI	Tongerloo	1794	"	12 to 14
	Vol. VII	Brussels	1845	"	15 to 16
	Vol. VIII	"	1853	"	17 to 20
	Vol. IX	"	1858	"	21 to 22
	Vol. X	"	1861	"	23 to 24
	Vol. XI	"	1864	"	25 to 26
	Vol. XII	"	1867	"	26 to 29
	Vol. XIII	"	1883	"	29 to 31

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Addenda to *October* 2 Brussels no date
Auctaria to Vol. V October Brussels 1852
" to Vol. VI " " 1853

Vol. VII had been begun by the Bollandists before the suppression. There exist some copies of the first 128 pages. See above, p. 183 (note). Volume XII was reprinted in 1884.

November Vol. I Brussels 1887 Days 1 to 3
Vol. II " 1894 " 3 to 4
Vol. III " 1910 " 5 to 8
Propylaeum. (*Synaxarium ecclesiae C. P.*) Brussels 1902

We shall not mention the numerous partial reprints which have been made from time to time, especially in recent years.

In addition to the various indices provided with each volume, two general tables of contents have been compiled. The first includes the volumes of the first half year; its author is Father Janninck (Vol. VII of *June*). He has divided it into two sections, the first entitled *Ephemerides sanctorum,* in which the names of the saints are arranged according to the order of the Calendar; a selection has been made from among the *praetermissi.* The other is an alphabetical index.

Father Ghesquière compiled the index for the second portion of the year, i.e., from *July* to *September* (it is in Vol. I for *October*). but he has extended the plan. He begins by describing

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briefly each volume. The *Ephemerides* follow with fuller explanations, then the alphabetical index. Finally he gives a list of the prefaces, dissertations, and separate treatises scattered throughout the entire series (*January* to *September,* inclusive). In this list will be found the biographical notices of the Bollandists and all the other *parerga,* such as general studies on episcopal successions, etc. This list is followed by a detailed index (entitled *Syllabus*) of the contents of this whole series of indices.

2. The Venice Edition

Begun in 1734, this edition stopped in 1770, with the fifth volume for *September.* The apportionment of volumes to dates and the pagination are the same as in the Antwerp edition except as regards the last four volumes for *May.* Vol. IV includes the 17th to the 20th of that month, together with some appendices of Vol. VII of the original edition; Vol. V includes the 21st to the 26th with a dedication taken from Vol. VI; Vol. VI includes the 27th to the 31st, with some supplements from Vol. VII.

Vol. VII consists of the *Propylaeum.* Like the other volumes it was printed at Venice, but the title page contains the following imprint: *Antverpiae, 1742, apud Michaelem Knobbarum. Prostant Venetiis apud Sebastianum Coleti,* etc.

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The arrangement of the volume was modified in accordance with the views of Papebroch; the *addenda* and *paralipomena* have been absorbed into the text.

The Venetian publishers added no new preface or dedication to the original edition. They have merely inserted here and there a notice to the reader explaining the method adopted. Compare, for instance, Vol. IV for *May*, Vol. I for *June*. In Vol. VII for *July* the Acts of St. Ignatius are preceded by a letter from Father Pien to the General of the Society, Very Rev. Father Retz, which is not found in the first edition.

Along with this complete reprint of the work of the Bollandists, there appeared also at Venice extracts from it under the title: *Praefationes, tractatus, diatribae, exegeses praeliminares atque nonnulla venerandae antiquitatis tum sacrae cum profanae monumenta in Actis sanctorum nunc primum conjunctim edita,* Venetiis, 1749-1751, 3 vols. folio.

Towards the middle of the last century a Brussels publisher, Greuse, announced the continuation of the Venice edition. He had reprinted Vol. V for *September*, which was wanting in the majority of the series, and Vols. I and VI of *October* which had also become very scarce. Vol. VI was even reprinted twice.

The Venice edition may be completed partly

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by these volumes, partly by those of the original edition or by the Paris edition.

3. Paris Edition

In 1863 the Parisian publisher Victor Palmé began a reprint of the *Acta Sanctorum*, in which the Bollandists took no active part and the editing of which he entrusted to a priest, J. Carnandet, of the diocese of Langres. He brought to a successful conclusion this great enterprise. Vol. XI for *October* is dated 1870. Vol. XII for the same month has the date 1867, which is the same as that of the first edition. It is the last of the series, the sixtieth. The publisher added an index volume which appeared in 1875. The Paris edition may be completed by the volumes of the original edition, i.e., by Vol. XIII for *October* and the volumes for *November*.

The distribution of the days in the respective volumes is the same as in the Antwerp edition (q.v.) except as regards *May* and *June*.

January is divided into three volumes, containing respectively from the first to the 11th of the month, from the 12th to the 21st and from the 22nd to the 31st. In Vol. II, p. 776, after *addenda ad dies 12-21,* come *addenda ad diem 3 januarii,* which in the first edition were inserted at the end of the first volume; at p. 773 are the *addenda ad diem 13.*

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The month of *June* is divided as follows: Vol. I, 1 to 6; Vol. II, 7 to 11; Vol. III, 12 to 15; Vol. IV, 16 to 19; Vol. V, 20 to 24; Vol. VI, the martyrology of Usuard and various texts taken from Vols. VI and VII of the first edition; Vol. VII, 25 to 30 followed by dissertations and texts taken from the same Vols. VI and VII. The *appendix addendorum in 5 tomos junii,* which was formerly included in Vol. VI, 1-274, has been distributed according to the days to which it refers, placed at the end of each of the volumes, and incorporated with the appendices, as well as with the *paralipomena ad t. I* which, in the original edition, were included in Vol. II, pp. LXXI-LXXXVIII.

In general the misprints and other minor errors recorded in the *appendices addendorum* of the original edition have been corrected in the text. The more important corrections or additions have been kept in the appendix and numbered off. There are marginal references to these additions. To all the volumes of *January, February, March,* and *April* are added *Animadversiones extemporales Danielis Papebrochii nunc primum ex MSS. editae.*

The pagination of the first edition has unfortunately been abandoned in the second. It is only from *August* onwards that it reappears; and even then, Vol. VII for *September* and Vol. I for *October* do not have it.

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In Vol. VII for *July* the letter from Father Pien appears as in the Venice edition.

The last volume, which bears the general title *Ad Acta Sanctorum supplementum, cura et opera L. M. Rigollot,* is composed of two parts.

The first part is merely the series of treatises added to Volumes I, V, and VI for *October* by Father De Buck and his colleagues, here brought together under the title *Auctaria Octobris* and provided with an index.

The second part is made up of the general indices to the *Acta Sanctorum,* up to Vol. XII for *October* inclusive. It is preceded by a preface by Father Victor De Buck. As in the index by Father Ghesquière, these indices begin with a bibliographical description of each of the volumes of the edition. The indices properly so called are the following:

1. *Ephemerides universales sanctorum* (pp. 3-248).

2. Alphabetical index of the saints (pp. 251-394) referring to the original edition; in the margin the concordance with the Paris edition is indicated.

3. List (pp. 396-428) of the saints to be dealt with in the *Acta Sanctorum* from *October* 29 to *December* 31. This list revised by Father De Buck is more complete than the list that appeared in 1838 in the publication entitled *De Prosecutione Operis Bollandiani.*

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4. List (pp. 429-435) of the saints omitted from the volumes hitherto published owing to lack of documents or of proofs of the existence of a cult, and about whom sufficient information seems for the future to be available.

5. Index (pp. 439-441) of separate prefaces, dissertations, and treatises. This is Ghesquière's list brought up to date by the inclusion of the volumes for *October*.

6. A table of contents for this whole publication. This is simply the *Syllabus* of Ghesquière with additions referring to the volumes for *October*.

These indices of Rigollot, though not perfect, are very useful, especially the alphabetical index. In default of them one may consult the indices that are to be found in each single volume, and, in this connection, it will not be amiss to call attention to the fact that the list of the saints dealt with is to be found at the beginning of the volumes, whereas the *praetermissi* are referred to in the alphabetical index at the end.

A complete analysis of the *Acta Sanctorum* with regard to mediaeval saints has been embodied in Potthast's *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi* (2nd ed. 1896) and in Ulysse Chevalier's *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen-âge* (2nd ed. 1905-7). A bibliography relating especially to the history of the Crusades and of

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the Latin Empire has been compiled by Kohler under the title: *Rerum et personarum quae in Actis Sanctorum Bollandistis et Analectis Bollandianis obviae ad Orientem Latinum spectant index analyticus.* It appeared in the *Revue de l'Orient latin,* Vol. V (1897) pp. 460-561. By means of these manuals it is not difficult to find one's bearings in the Bollandist collection. If there is question of a well-known saint it is easy to look for his or her life under the date assigned in the calendar to his or her feast. Generally speaking, however, it will be found more convenient to look up one or other of the alphabetical lists which we have just mentioned. If information about the saints other than that given by the *Acta Sanctorum* be desired it will be necessary to have recourse to the publications which we shall now proceed to mention.

B. *Analecta Bollandiana*

This quarterly review, forming annually a volume of 640 pages, began to appear in 1882 under the title: *Analecta Bollandiana ediderunt Carolus de Smedt, Gulielmus Van Hooff et Josephus De Backer.* To these names were joined in 1886 that of *Carolus Houze* (until 1889); in 1888 that of *Franciscus Van Ortroy* taking the place of Father Van Hooff; in 1889 that of *Josephus Van den Gheyn* (until 1905); in 1892

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that of *Hippolytus Delehaye;* in 1893 that of *Albertus Poncelet;* in 1905 that of *Paulus Peeters;* in 1910 that of *Carolus Van de Vorst.* Father De Backer's name disappeared from the cover in 1903, Father De Smedt's in 1912, Father Poncelet's in 1913.

The first volume appeared without any supplement. Commencing with the second volume (1883) there were distributed gratis with each number several sheets of more specialized works which later on were bound together as *Subsidia,* these forming nos. 1, 4, 7, 9 of this series.

The *Bulletin des publications hagiographiques* was begun in Vol. X (1891) and thereafter formed a part of each of the numbers of the review.

The publication of Vol. XXXIII 1914, was interrupted by the war; number 4 completing that year appeared in December, 1919. The numbers of 1920 constitute Vol. XXXVIII. The intermediary Volumes XXXIV-XXXVII are in course of preparation.

Besides dissertations and hitherto unpublished texts the *Analecta* has published a certain number of studies which may be regarded as literary aids to those engaged in research. The most important of these are the catalogues of hagiographical MSS. Some of these catalogues were too lengthy to be published in the review, and

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were separately printed. It may be useful to give here a list of those that have appeared in the *Analecta.*

1.) Catalogues of Latin MSS:

Bruges,	Municipal Library,	Vol. X, p. 453
Brussels,	Bollandist Library,	" XXIV, p. 425
Chartres,	Public Library,	" VIII, p. 86
Douai,	Public Library,	" XX, p. 361
Ghent,	University Library,	" III, p. 167; IV, 157
The Hague,	Royal Library,	" VI, p. 161
The Hague,	Meerman-West Museum,	" XXI, p. 45
Le Mans,	Public Library,	" XII, p. 43
Liège,	University Library,	" V, pp. 313, 365
Mons,	Municipal Library,	" IX, p. 263
Mons,	Library of M. A. Wins,	" XII, p. 409
Namur,	Municipal Library,	" I, pp. 485, 609; II, pp. 130, 279
Naples,	National Library and others,	" XXX, p. 137
Rouen,	Public Library,	" XXIII, p. 129
Turin,	National Library,	" XXVIII, p. 47
Vienna,	The Emperor's Private Library,	" XIV, p. 231
Würzburg,	University Library,	" XXX, p. 408

To the series of catalogues of Latin MSS must be added studies entitled: *De Codicibus hagiographicis Johannis Gielemans* in Vol. XIV p. 5: *De Magno Legendario Austriaco,* Vol. XVII, p.

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24: *De Magno Legendario Bodecensi,* Vol. XXVII, p. 257.

2.) Catalogues of Greek MSS:

Escurial,	Library,	Vol. XXVIII, p. 353
Halki	Convent of the Virgin,	" XX, p. 651
Holkham,	Library of the Duke of Leicester,	" XXV, p. 451
Leipzig,	Municipal Library,	" XX, p. 205
Messina,	University Library,	" XXIII, p. 19
Naples,	National Library,	" XXI, p. 381
Rome,	Vatican Library, (Supplement),	" XXI, p. 5
Rome,	Barberini Library,	" XIX, p. 81
Rome,	Chigi Library,	" XVI, p. 297
Venice,	Library of St. Mark's,	" XXIV, p. 169

We may call attention to the following contributions, among others: Catalogue of the process of canonization preserved in the National Library at Paris, by Count de Bourmont (Vol. V, p. 147); the *Index miraculorum beatae Mariae Virginis,* by Father Poncelet, an indispensable complement to the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* (Vol. XXI, p. 241); description of the contents of the legendary of Peter Calo, by the same writer (Vol. XXIX, p. 5); the martyrology of Rhabanus Sliba, published and annotated by Father Peeters (Vol. XXVII, p. 129).

An index to the first twenty volumes of the *Analecta* (1882-1901) was published in 1904, and

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issued as an appendix to Volumes XXII and XXIII of the review.

The most important contributions to the *Analecta* have been separately printed. Space forbids the insertion of a list of these publications.

C. *Subsidia Hagiographica*

This series includes several works which are within the scope of the *Analecta,* but were considered to be on too large a scale to appear in this review. Some of these works have been distributed to the subscribers to the *Analecta* as supplements. Others are entirely independent. Here are the titles of the works which have been issued as *Subsidia.*

1. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae Bruxellensis,* Pars. I. Codices latini membranei. Brussels. 1886, 1889. 2 vols. pp. 614 and 557. This catalogue was published as an appendix in Vols. II to VIII of the *Analecta Bollandiana.*

2. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquorum saeculo XVI quae asservantur in bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi.* Brussels, 1889-1893. 4 vols., pp. VIII + 606, XV + 646, 739, and 101.

3. *De codicibus hagiographicis Johannis Gielemans, adiectis anecdotis.* Brussels 1895, pp. 587.

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The first 88 pages (description of MSS) appeared also in the *Analecta,* Vol. XIV.

3a. *Anecdota ex codicibus hagiographicis Johannis Gielemans* Brussels 1895, pp. 496. Same contents as 3, minus the description of the MSS.

4. *Repertorium hymnologicum. Cataloque des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'Église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours,* by the Abbé Ulysse Chevalier. Louvain, 1895, 1897, 1904. 4 vols. pp. 601, 786, 639, 400. This has been published as an appendix to Volumes VIII to XVI, XIX to XXIII, XXVIII, XXXIII, of the *Analecta Bollandiana.* The fourth volume is in course of publication. The last pages will be distributed along with Vol. XXXIV of the *Analecta.* A volume of indices (about 300 pp.) will be issued in sheet form, with Volumes XXXV-XXXVII of the review.

5. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis.* Ediderunt hagiographi Bollandiani et Henricus Omont. Paris 1896, pp. VIII + 372.

6. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis.* Brussels 1898-1901, pp. XXV + 1387. This work is divided into two volumes (A — I, K — Z). The second volume ends with a supplement containing works which have appeared while the book was going through the press. A new supplement was published in 1911. It forms no. 12 of the series of *Subsidia.*

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7. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae Vaticanae.* Ediderunt hagiographici Bollandiani et Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri. Brussels, 1899 pp. VIII + 324. This was published as an appendix to Volumes XVII and XVIII of the *Analecta Bollandiana.* A supplement to this catalogue appeared in the *Analecta* Vol. XXV, pp. 5 ss. The Barberini Library having been incorporated into the Vatican Library, the catalogue published in Vol. XIX, pp. 81 ss. must be regarded as another supplement.

8. *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* seu elenchus Vitarum sanctorum graece typis impressarum. Brussels 1895, pp. XII + 143.

8a. *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca.* Editio altera emendatior. Accedit *Synopsis metaphrastica.* Brussels, 1909, pp. xv + 299.

9. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanae.* Brussels, 1909, pp. 523. Published as an appendix to Vols. XXIV to XXVII of the *Analecta.*

10. *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis.* Brussels, 1910 pp. XXXIII + 288. It is an abstract of the Lives of saints printed in Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopian, Syriac. The work will be concluded, as soon as circumstances permit, with a list of Georgian texts. See above, (p. 219).

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11. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae Vaticanae.* Brussels, 1910, pp. VIII + 595.

12. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis.* Supplementi editio altera auctior. Brussels, 1911, pp. VIII + 355. This volume completes no. 6, above, adding to it an abstract of the texts that had appeared from 1901 to 1911. In order not to render research more complicated the supplement published in 1901 was incorporated in this.

13. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Germaniae, Belgii, Angliae.* Ediderunt C. Van de Vorst et H. Delehaye. Brussels, 1913, pp. viii + 412. This volume contains catalogues of 41 libraries in Germany, England, Austria, Ireland, Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries.

D. Sundry Publications

Most of the collaborators in the *Acta Sanctorum* have published works which do not belong to any of the classes hitherto mentioned. We do not intend to give here a bibliography of all the works written by Bollandists. We shall confine ourselves to a few works useful to know and dealing with subjects related to the main work.

1. *Acta S. Demetrii myrobletae gloriosi martyris* a Simeone Metaphraste graece scripta . . .

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ad graecum exemplar Medicaeeum bibliothecae christianissimi regis recensita et graeco-latine excusa. Antverpiae, 1635, quarto pp. 16. This was Bolland's first hagiographical publication which he undertook, no doubt, for sake of practice.

2. *De tribus Dagobertis Francorum regibus diatriba* Godefridi Henschenii, Antverpiae, 1655, quarto pp. 254. This was the development of a dissertation that had appeared in the *Acta Sanctorum, April,* Vol. III, p. xv.

3. *Brevis notitia Belgii ex Actis sanctorum januarii et februarii . . . excerpta digestaque per provincias.* Antverpiae, 1658, 8vo, pp. 23. *Brevis notitia Galliarum . . . per episcopatus:* Antverpiae, 1658, 8vo, pp. 32. *Brevis notitia Germaniae per regiones.* Antverpiae, 1658, 8vo, pp. 32. *Brevis notitia Hispaniae per regiones.* Antverpiae, 1658, 8vo, pp. 16. *Brevis notitia Italiae per regiones.* Antverpiae, 1658, 8vo, pp. 40. *Breves notitiae triplicis status ecclesiastici monastici et saecularis excerptae ex actis sanctorum januarii, februarii, et martii.* Antverpiae, 1688, pp. 98. This short treatise closes with an account of the aim and the progress of the work, and also with a series of desiderata which are brought to the attention of readers.

4. *Responsio Danielis Papebrochii ad Exhibitionem errorum per Adm. R. P. Sebastianum a*

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S. Paulo vulgatam an. 1693 Coloniae, Antverpiae, ex typographia Henrici Thieullier, 1696, quarto, pp. 318 and Index. A second edition which appeared the same year adds to the above title, *Pars prima ad. XII priores articulos. Editio 2° ab auctore recognita et nonnihil aucta.* Antverpiae, apud viduam Henrici Thieullier, 1696, quarto, pp. 553 and Index.

5. *Responsio Danielis Papebrochii ad Exhibitionem errorum. Pars secunda ad posteriores XII articulos cum articulo XXV de Post - notatis, Antiverpiae, apud viduam Henrici Thieullier,* 1697, quarto, pp. 553 et index. These two answers, (nos. 4 and 5) called forth by a work referred to above, (p. 130) were reprinted in the following collection.

6. *Acta sanctorum Bollandiana apologeticis libris in unum volumen nunc primum contractis vindicata.* Antverpiae apud Albertum Van der Plassche, 1755, folio. In spite of the title, the work was printed not at Antwerp but in Italy, no doubt at Venice. It is a collection of various *opuscula* to which the controversies with Carmelites and Dominicans gave rise. The *vindiciae* of Cuperus à propos of the apostolate of St. James in Spain have a place in the same volume.[8]

[8] We may mention here a curious work bearing Papebroch's name. It seems to have hitherto escaped the notice of bibliographers: *Memorie scritte de mano*

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7. *Annales Antverpienses ab urbe condita ad annum MDCC.* Auctore Daniele Papebrochio, Ediderunt F. H. Mertens et E. Buschmann Antverpiae 1845-1848, 5 vol. 8vo. As Papebroch explains in his preface, this important work grew out of the commentary on St. Norbert, apostle of Antwerp, in the first volume for *June*. Researches undertaken in order to complete it by a brief history of the Abbey of St. Michael at Antwerp, one of the saint's foundations, had induced the author to ransack piles of documents concerning local history that had not hitherto been utilized. He broadened the scope of his researches and eventually found that he had materials for putting together in the form of annals, which was the favorite style of composition at the time, a history of his native city. This important work, although interrupted by his blindness, occupied the closing years of his life. He had begun the printing of it and some proofs corrected by him have been preserved. Two Antwerp scholars took it as a matter of pride not

propria di Carlo secondo re d'Inghilterra stampate e publicate in Londra in lingua inglese, e dopo tradotte in Franzese ed inviate a Firenze dall'ottimo e dottissimo padre Daniello Papebrochio della compagnia di Gesu ed ora tradotte in lingua italiana dal P. D. I. L. M. C. In Firenze, per Antonmaria Albizzini dirimpetto alle scale di Badia. Con licenza de' superiori. 1686. pp. 8 quarto.

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to leave unpublished so important a work written by a distinguished fellow-townsman. Unfortunately Papebroch's manuscript preserved in the Royal Library of Brussels is incomplete, and up to the present the missing portions have not been discovered.

8. *Réponse de l'Ancien des Bollandistes, Corneille De Bye, au mémoire de M. Des Roches touchant le Testament de S. Remi inséré au deuxième tome des nouveaux mémoires de l'Académie Impériale et Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres établie à Bruxelles, donnés au jour cette année.* Brussels, 1780, 8vo, pp. 50.

8a. *Réplique de l'Ancien des Bollandistes, Corneille de Bye, à la lettre de Monsieur Des Roches, secrétaire de l'Académie des Sciences et Belles-Lettres, écrite au sujet de la Réponse du premier au mémoire de ce dernier sur le testament de S. Remi.* Brussels, 1781, 8°, pp. 119.

In the first volume for *October,* Father Suyskens had declared against the authenticity of the will of St. Remi. Des Roches had undertaken to defend this apocryphal document. It was to refute Des Roches' *mémoire* and also the letter which, in 1780, called forth the *Réponse,* that De Bye took up his pen.

9. *Acta Sanctorum Belgii . . . collegit* J. Ghesquière. Vol. I, Brussels, 1782, quarto.

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This consists of Lives of the saints from the origins of Belgium to 531 A. D.

Vol. II, Brussels, 1784. From the death of St. Remi to 653 A.D.

Vol. III, Brussels, 1785. From the death of St. Bavon to 671 A.D. This volume and the three following, in collaboration with Father Corneille Smet.

Vol. IV, Brussels, 1787. From 671-693 A.D.

Vol. V, " , 1789. From 693-709 A.D.

Vol. VI, Tongerloo, 1794, in collaboration with Canon Isfride Thijs, Premonstratensian.

Two new volumes, the posthumous work of Father Albert Poncelet, were about to be sent to press when the war broke out. They will be published and continued by Father H. Moretus.

10. *De prosecutione operis Bollandiana quod Acta Sanctorum inscribitur.* Brussels, 1838, 8vo, pp. 60. This was the programme of the new Bollandists, ending with a list of the saints to be dealt with in the forthcoming volumes of the *Acta sanctorum.*

11. *Vie de Charles-le-Bon,* a dissertation by Dr. Wegener, translated from the Danish by a Bollandist (Father Van Hecke), no date, pp. 192, quarto. This volume was one of the publications of the *Société d' Emulation* of Bruges.

12. *Vita Venerabilis servi Dei Johannis Berchmans e Soc. Jesu italice scripta a P. Virgilio*

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Cepari, latine reddita a P. Hermanno Hugone. Ed. 3ª, recognita et emendata cui ampla appendix accessit. Louvain. 1853, 8vo, pp. 392. The notes, which are numerous, and the appendices are by Father E. Carpentier.

13. *De phialis rubricatis quibus martyrum Romanorum sepulchra dignosci, dicuntur observationes* V D (e) B (uck) Brussels, 1855, 8vo, pp. 263. Only a few copies were printed, for private circulation.

14. V. De Buck, *Essai historique sur le bienheureux André Bobola,* 3rd ed. Brussels 1856, 8vo, pp. 70.

15. (V. De Buck.) *Couronnes des saints et en particulier de la sainte Vierge.* Lettre adressée au directeur des *Précis historiques.* Brussels, 1860, pp. 20.

16. V. De Buck, *Les saints martyrs japonais de la compagnie de Jésus: Paul Miki, Jean de Soan de Goto et Jacques Kisai.* Brussels, 1863, 8vo, pp. 16.

17. V. De Buck, *Le bienheureux Jean de Gand dit l'ermite de Saint-Claude, précurseur de Jeanne d'Arc.* Brussels, 1862, 8°. 40 pp.

18. V. De Buck. *L'archéologie irlandaise au couvent de Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue à Louvain.* Paris 1869, 8°. 118 pp.

19. V. d'A (V. De Buck) *Sainte Ermelinde, patronne de Meldert en Brabant.* Brussels, 8vo, pp. 11.

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20. *Les martyrs d'Audenarde,* documents officiels publiés par V. D(e) B(uck), Louvain, 1870, 8vo, pp. 29. The same author published a great number of other pamphlets and articles, most of the latter in *Précis historiques,* Brussels, and in *Études religieuses,* Paris. The articles are often signed X.Y.Z., or Y.Z.

21. V. De Buck. *Recherches sur les calendriers ecclésiastiques.* Brussels, 1877, pp. 37.

22. *Le martyrologe Romain actuel,* in De Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la compagnie de Jésus.* Vol. III, cols. 368-386. This article, which is followed by a bibliography completed by Father De Buck, is by Father J. Matagne.

23. C. De Smedt, *Introductio generalis ad historiam ecclesiasticam critice tractandam.* Ghent, 1876, 8vo, pp. x + 533.

23a. C. De Smedt. *Dissertationes selectae in primam aetatem historiae ecclesiasticae.* Ghent 1876. 8vo, pp. vii + 326 + 100. These are the first two volumes of the course of ecclesiastical history which Father De Smedt gave before the scholasticate of Louvain. Of the third volume about 250 pages were printed. The work was never finished, and the remainder of the lectures exist only in manuscript form.

24. C. De Smedt. *Principes de la critique historique.* Liège, 1883, 8vo, pp. 292. The first

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chapters had appeared in 1869 and 1870 in the *Études religieuses,* Paris. Brought together in volume form and then revised, they constituted a short treatise enjoying a wide circulation. Though a large number of copies were issued, it went out of print in a very few years and a new edition was called for. Father De Smedt, convinced that certain parts of this book were not up to the times, was unwilling to reprint it without considerable revision. In the last months of his life he had made up his mind to recast the work. Unfortunately his strength failed him, and the revision could not be carried out.

25. *Acta sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice Salmanticensi nunc* primum integre edita opera Caroli De Smedt et Josephi De Backer hagiographorum Bollandianorum, auctore et sumptus largiente Joanne Patricio Marchione Bothae. Edinburgh and London, 1888, quarto, pp. iv + 975. This collection is not an edition, in the technical sense of the word, of the Lives of the Irish saints, but the reproduction of an important MS which formerly belonged to the Irish College at Salamanca, and afterwards to the Bollandist Museum in which it bore the library mark P. MS. 11. At present it is preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels, no. 7672-74. Writing from the point of view of Celtic philology, which had not been the point of view of

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the editors, Professor H. Zimmer published in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (March 1901), a criticism of the above publication. This criticism contained exaggerations for which its author was taken to task by another Celtic scholar, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, in the *Revue celtique,* vol. XII, pp. 393-7. We now possess in the *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* by Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1910) an excellent edition of the Lives of the saints of Ireland. Nevertheless the *Acta* have not on that account lost all interest. There are to be found in them versions of more than one life which Mr. Plummer has not thought well to publish in full, as well as a number of texts which do not relate to Ireland, and which would be sought for in vain outside of this volume.

26. C. de Smedt. *L'Organisation des églises chrétiennes au IIIe siècle,* Paris, 1891, 8vo, pp. 37. Appeared in *Revue des questions historiques* for October, 1891.

27. *Une leçon d'honnêteté scientifique donnée aux bollandistes.* The answer to M. Wagener by a Bollandist (J. Van den Gheyn). Brussels, 1892, 8vo, pp. 7. Reprint from the *Revue générale.*

27a. *Une défense malheureuse.* Réponse à M. Pirenne par un bollandiste (C. De Smedt). Brussels, 1892, 8vo, pp. 20. In his edition of the

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Histoire du meurtre de Charles-le-Bon (1891) M. Pirenne, à propos of some portions of the text not contained in the MSS used by the Bollandists in Vol. I for *March*, p. 179, had expressed the opinion that the latter had omitted these portions from their edition, owing to the fact that they contained according to him violent attacks on the clergy. The author had ventured this conjecture without any malicious intention, and no one would have thought of discussing it had not somebody seized upon it as a weapon against the *Acta Sanctorum*. M. Wagener, when presenting to the Academy of Belgium M. Pirenne's work, had laid great stress on this supposed discovery and had made it the occasion for administering to the Bollandists a lesson in schoolmaster style on scientific honesty, without having taken the trouble to ascertain the correctness of the fact on which he was basing his argument. A sally of this kind, which aimed at discrediting in the eyes of the public the work of the Bollandists and which had been echoed by the daily press, could not be left unnoticed. An answer appeared in the *Revue générale*. M. Wagener did not reply. But M. Pirenne, who felt himself somewhat involved in this discussion, resorted to what was his legal right (*Revue générale*, March, 1892). His defense called forth this pamphlet by Father De Smedt, and the controversy closed.

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28. H. Delehaye, *La vie de Saint Paul le jeune (ob. 956) et la chronologie de Métaphraste.* Paris, 1893, pp. 39, 8vo. Appeared in the *Revue des questions historiques,* July 1893.

29. *Vita S. Stanislai Kostka auctore Stanislao Varsevitio,* Ediderunt Hagiographi Bollandiani. Brussels, 1895, 8vo, pp. 31. This brief publication, of which 100 copies were printed, is of the type known in Italian as "per le nozze." It was published for a family celebration.

30. H. Delehaye, *Les Stylites.* Brussels, 1895, 8vo, pp. 42. Appeared in the *Compte rendu du 3e Congrès des savants catholiques.*

31. C. De Smedt, *Mgr. J-B-Victor Kinet et les origines de la congrégation des Soeurs de la Providence de l'Immaculée Conception* Namur, 1899, 8vo, pp. vi + 583.

32. H. Delehaye, *Note sur la légende de la lettre du Christ tombée du ciel.* Brussels, 1899, pp. 45. A reprint from *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique.*

33. H. Delehaye, *Saint Cassiodore,* Paris, 1902, pp. 10. A reprint from *Mélanges Paul Fabre.*

34. H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques,* Brussels, 1905, 8vo, pp. xi + 264. The first few chapters had appeared in the *Revue des questions historiques,* 1904. Second edition (1906) with a small number of unimportant additions.

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An Italian translation by Mgr. Faraoni (Florence, 1906), with an appendix taken from W. Meyer's *Die Legende des hl. Albanus*. The second edition of the Italian translation, (Florence 1910) was revised by the author and has undergone some slight alterations. The appendix of the previous edition has been replaced by a supplementary chapter on martyrologies; an alphabetical index has been added.

An English translation by Mrs. V. M. Crawford under the title *The Legends of the Saints*, (London, 1907) with alphabetical index.

A German translation by E. A. Stückelberg, (Kempten, 1907).

35. H. Delehaye, *Les versions grecques des Actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II*, Paris (1905) quarto, pp. 160. Belongs to the *Patrologia Orientalis* by M. Graffin et Nau, Vol. II.

36. H. Delahaye, *La Translatio S. Mercurii Beneventum*, Liège 1908, pp. 8. Reprinted from *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*.

37. H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*. Paris, 1909. 8vo. pp. IX + 271. Published under the patronage of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

38. P. Peeters, *Saint Barlaam du Mont Casius*, Beyrouth, 1909. Reprinted from *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* of Beyrouth, Vol. III, pp. 805-813.

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39. A Poncelet. *La Vie latine de saint Grégoire le thaumaturge,* Paris, 1910. 7vo, pp. 28. Appeared in *Recherches de science religieuse,* 1910, no. 2.

40. P. Peeters *Histoire de Joseph le Charpentier,* translated, with notes, from the Coptic and Arabic, Paris, 1911. Part of the *Évangiles apocryphes,* vol. I, in the series. *Textes et documents,* edited by H. Hemmer and P. Lejay.

40a. *L'évangile de l'Enfance,* translated, with notes, from the Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian. Paris, 1914, pp. LIX + 330. Forms Vol. II of *Evangiles apocryphes.*

41. P. Peeters, *La passion arménienne de saint Serge le Stratélate.* Vienna, 1911, quarto, pp. 7. Belongs to the Armenian collection *Huschardzan,* published on the occasion of the centenary of the Melchitarists at Vienna.

42. H. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs,* Brussels, 1912, 8vo, pp. viii + 503.

43. H. Delehaye, *Monumenta Latrensia hagiographica.* Belongs to the publication undertaken by the Berlin museums under the title *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899.* Band III, I, *Der Latmos.* Berlin, 1913, quarto, pp. 97-176. In addition to several documents of less importance, the hagiographical part includes a new analytical study of the Greek Lives of St. Paul the Younger

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and of St. Nicephorus of Miletus, as well as an unpublished *Laudatio* of St. Paul.

44. H. Delehaye. *La légende de saint Eustache,* reprinted from the *Bulletin de la classe des lettres* of the *Académie de Belgique,* April, 1919, 8vo, pp. 36.

45. H. Delehaye. *Une inscription de Fortunat sur S. Martin* (I, 5). Liège, 1919, 8vo, pp. 8. Reprinted from the *Mélanges Borman.*

E. Pseudo-Bollandist Publications

It is advisable to call attention here to three works, the titles of which seem to affiliate them with the *Acta Sanctorum,* but with which the Bollandists have no connection whatever. The latter are all the more anxious to put readers on their guard against a deceptive label, because these enterprises of publishers are notable for their utter lack of critical value and may easily mislead those who have not been forewarned.

1. *Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des saints de l'ancien et du nouveau Testament d'après le Père Giry, les grands Bollandistes, Surius, Ribadeneira, Godescard, Baillet, les hagiologies et les propres de chaque diocèse* by Mgr. Paul Guérin. 7e édition, Paris 1888. 17 vol. 8vo.

Supplément aux Vies des saints et spécialement aux Petits Bollandistes d'après les documents hagiographiques les plus authentiques et

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les plus récents, by Dom Paul Piolin. Paris, 3 vol. 8vo. No date.

The title of Mgr. Guérin's work shows sufficiently in what spirit it was carried out. It is a compilation of a most indiscriminate character, the sole purpose of which is to embellish the Lives of the saints for each day with certain interesting details anent their cult. There are to be found here and there in this work some items of information which may, after they have been verified, prove to be of service. As for the supplement, it is well known that a critical method was not the strong point of its author, Dom Piolin. He selected, from all sorts of works, notes on all the saints in the calendar. These notes he embodied into the three supplementary volumes; they should be consulted with the same precaution as the main work.

2. *Les Actes des saints d'après les Bollandistes, Mabillon, et les plus récents hagiographes, traduits et publiés pour la première fois en français par une société d'ecclésiastiques sous la direction de MM. Carnandet et J. Fèvre.* Lyons, 1865-1868. 8 vols., quarto.

The first four volumes comprise prefaces and general introductions, together with biographies of the Bollandists, the Roman martyology, the martyrology of Usuard and of Du Sollier, etc. The following four volumes contain the Acts of

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the saints for *January* 1 to 11, preceded by the preface of Bolland.

It is difficult to surmise just why this publication was issued. It was designed to comprise eighty volumes, but got no further than the eighth. It did not deserve any better fate, however, for it was executed in a hasty and unscientific manner.

3. *Supplément aux Acta sanctorum pour des Vies de l'époque mérovingienne, par l'abbé C. Narbey.* Paris, 1899, 3 vols. folio (in course of publication).

This series is apparently intended to complete the *Acta Sanctorum,* but it does not fill up any definite gaps, and the principles on which the author has worked are singularly disconcerting. It is commonly known that the abridged versions to be found in the breviaries and historical readings as well as in hymns and responses, are often restrained and contain fewer materials of a legendary character than the ancient documents from which they are taken. Narbey, basing his arguments on this perfectly good impression, considers these readings to be primitive texts, although he appears to forget how the breviaries were composed and at what period. Moreover, the actual work corresponds so little to its title, that one may search through the first volume, and a considerable portion of the second, without coming across one solitary Merovingian saint.

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